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LATIN AMERICA REPORT

No. 2583

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POLL SHOWS WIDESPREAD INDECISION REGARDING NOVEMBER ELECTIONS

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 29 Aug 82 pp 6-10

[Text] A complete survey in eight states: the poll, sponsored by GLOBO, Globo Television Network, ISTO E and the Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics (IBOPE), was conducted in the states of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Parana, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais, Bahia and Pernambuco, which account for 70 percent of the Brazilian electorate and involved 18,000 interviews.

1. This poll is different from those conducted until now: it is broader, more detailed and, above all, shows clearer results. It was initially sought to delimit realistically the groups of undecided and those who already have at least a clear intention of whom to vote for.
2. One question: Do you already have a candidate? was asked of all those interviewed. Those who responded "No" were excluded from the part that refers to the selection of candidates for any office. Thus, the high percentage of undecided and the reliability of the opinion of those who revealed their choice.
3. The poll went beyond that. It also revealed a profile of the undecided, identifying them by sex, age, income bracket, occupation, level of education, and geographic location, a useful guide for the candidates in their marathon until the 15 November elections.

New Methodology

This IBOPE poll interviewed at least 40 percent more people than election public opinion polls usually cover. Other polls conducted until now have covered from 900 to 1,500 people interviewed. This time, however, IBOPE interviewed at least 2,000 persons in each of the eight states where it sought to sound out the trends of the electorate. There were cases, such as in Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais, in which the coverage of the poll involved 3,000 interviews.

But they were not house-to-house interviews. IBOPE believes that seeking out the voter at home may somehow intimidate him. Aware that the interviewer knows his address, he will certainly be reluctant to give information. In addition, for purposes of the poll, the group of people who remain at home during the day is limited. For that reason, it was decided to conduct the interviews right on the street without requesting the names and addresses of the interviewees.

The 200 IBOPE pollsters mobilized during 2 weeks in the eight states, worked together so that each could check the work of the other. They not only did not offer the names of candidates for the choice of the voters but even avoided explaining to them what the linkage [vinculacao] of votes means--the obligation of voting for candidates of the same party. IBOPE believed that if it were to teach the voter what linkage means, it would inescapably be reducing the percentage of votes that should appear as invalid.

The principal mark of this poll--the initial question about whether the voter already has a candidate--makes its results faithfully reflect the election situation prevailing in the eight states polled. But IBOPE explains that those results do not invalidate those of other polls made previously because they cannot be compared. They are polls of a different methodology. This was the first time in which, before asking who the voter was going to vote for, he was asked if he already had a definite candidate.

RIO: 42.9 PERCENT UNDECIDED; MIRO AHEAD

Almost half of the Rio voters have not yet decided for whom to vote for governor in the 15 November elections this year. In 2,000 interviews conducted by IBOPE in Rio, Baixada Fluminense and in the interior of the state, during the period from 31 July to 13 August, it was discovered that the number of really undecided voters, is not really as small as other polls indicated previously. At the present time, they represent 42.9 percent of the electorate.

Therefore, only 57.1 percent of the voters are aware at this time of the choice they will make at the polls. The Brazilian Democratic Party (PMDB) candidate for governor, Miro Teixeira, is in first place. He has 19 percent of the votes. The poll indicates that Sandra Cavalcanti, the candidate of the Brazilian Labor Party (PTB) is in second place with 17.9 percent. Following her is the candidate of the Social Democratic Party (PDS), Moreira Franco, with 12.2 percent. The candidate of the Democratic Labor Party (PDT), Leonel Brizola, with 6.3 percent, has three times fewer votes than Miro Teixeira. In last place, with 1.6 percent, is the candidate of the Workers Party (PT), Lysaneas Maciel.

Applying those percentages to the total of 6 million voters in the state would mean that 2.5 million of them still do not know for whom to vote for governor. Those who know would be divided as follows: voters for Miro, 1,138,000; for Sandra, 1,072,000; for Moreira Franco, 731,000; for Brizola, 377,000; and Lysaneas, 96,000.

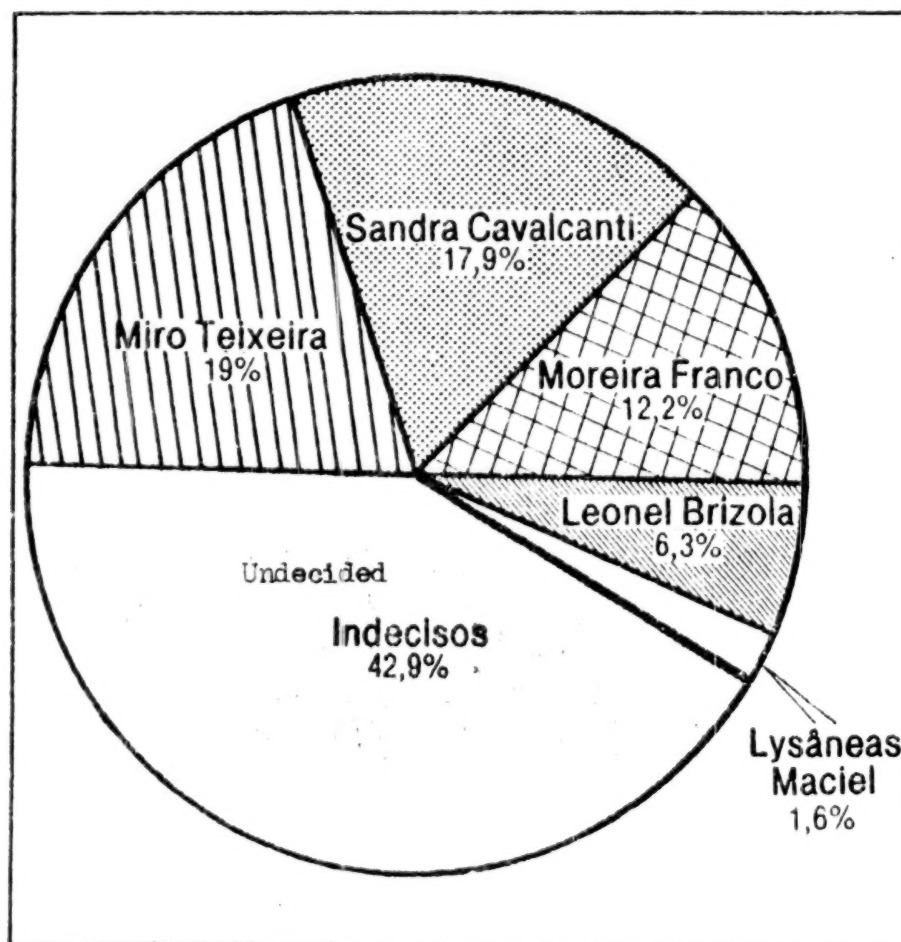
Sandra Wins in the Capital, Miro Breezes in the Interior

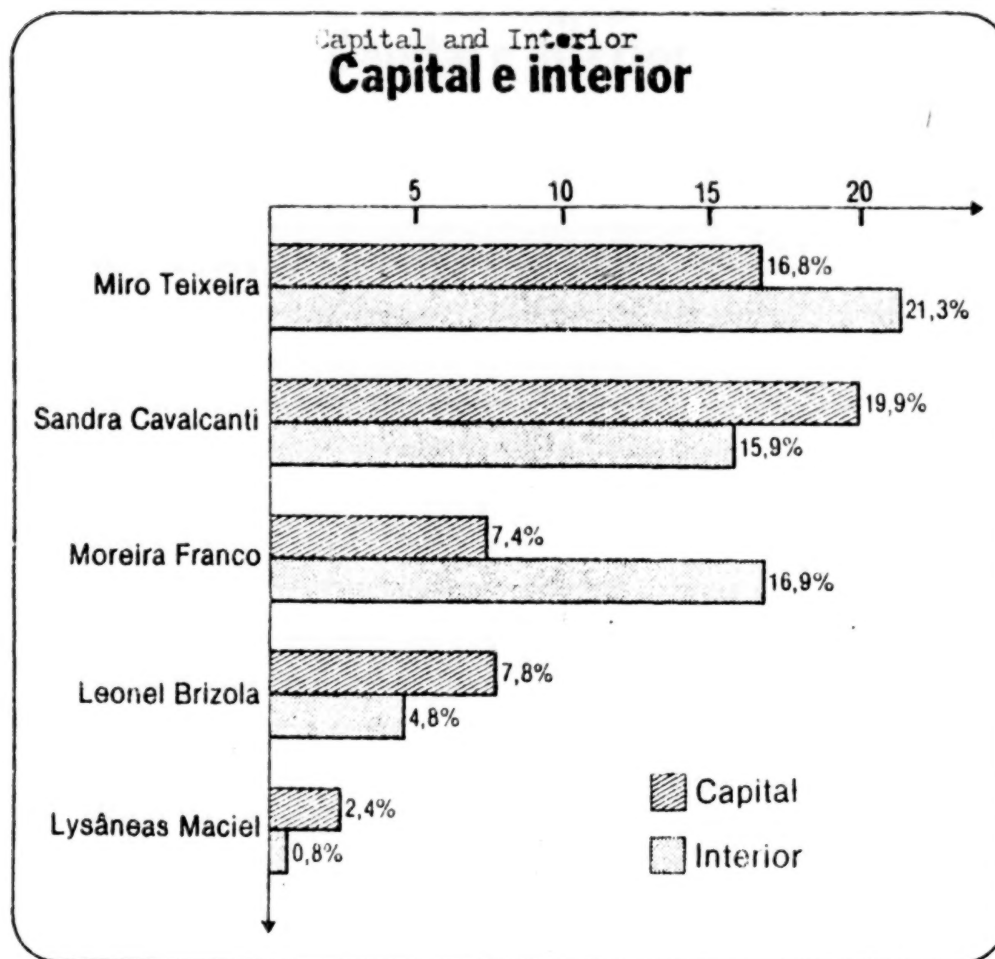
If the elections were held now and only in the city of Rio de Janeiro, the winner would be Sandra Cavalcanti. She would get almost one-fifth of the votes of the capital (19.9 percent). Behind her, with 16.8 percent, would be Miro Teixeira, with double the votes given to Leonel Brizola (7.8 percent). Incidentally, Brizola would have as much support in the capital as the PDS candidate, Moreira Franco (7.4 percent). At the present time, the preference for Lysaneas Maciel in Rio de does not exceed 2.4 percent.

In the Baixada Fluminense, Moreira Franco would win (22.6 percent) but in a very close race with Miro Teixeira (21.4 percent), who is the runaway favorite candidate in the rest of the interior (21 percent, against 12.9 percent for Sandra and 11.5 percent for Moreira). In the Baixada, Sandra would get as many votes as in the capital, which indicates the periphery of Rio will be the stage for a bitter competition between the candidates of the PMDB, PDS and PTB, because it is a region of greater voter density. There, Brizola receives only 6.6 percent of support and Lysaneas disappears in the curves of the poll with 0.6 percent.

Considering the interior of the state as a whole--including the Baixada Fluminense--it is observed that when one leaves the capital, the one who is in the best position to threaten the election of Miro Teixeira is not Sandra Cavalcanti but Moreira Franco. For the time being, in this poll, the PDS candidate, with 16.9 percent, is only one point ahead of the PTB candidate (15.9 percent) in the interior. But Sandra's party is not organized in 22 municipalities, where there are at least 280,000 voters. The PDS, with its organization strengthened by the leadership of Senator Amaral Peixoto, father-in-law of Moreira Franco, and the PMDB, with its organization facilitated by the fact that it is a party in the state governorship, are both present in all Rio municipalities.

The Votes for Governor





Linkage Affects the Weakest the Least

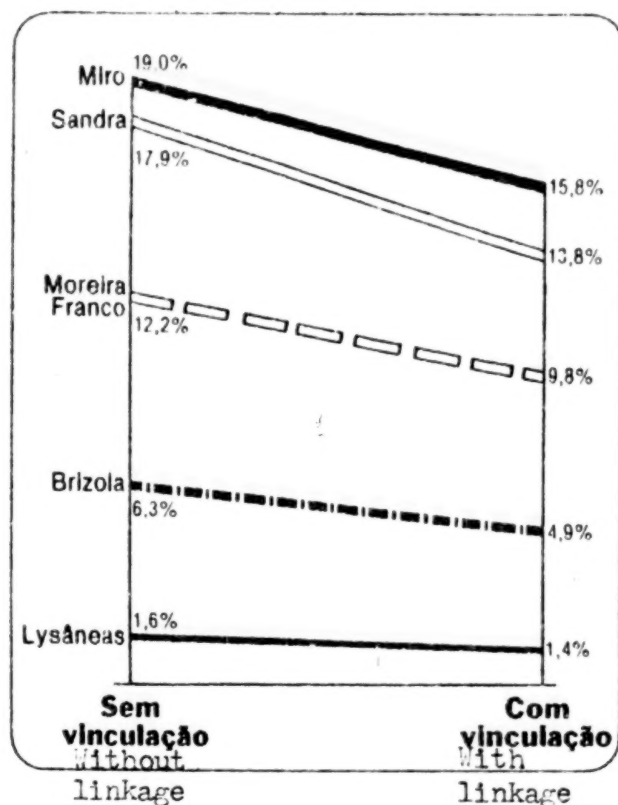
Finally, an advantage for the weakest: he withstands linkage better, at least at this stage of the campaign. It is Lysaneas Maciel who loses the least when the voter is required to line up his candidates for governor, senator, federal deputy and state deputy at one time.

There is one difficulty here of a theoretical nature and another of a practical nature. On the one hand, 64.2 percent of the voters confess that they do not know what is the linked vote. After tripping up on theory, comes the fall in practice: those who know what linkage is, do not always know the names to extend that chain up to federal deputy within one single party, as the law requires.

The chain proposed by the pollsters is limited (governor, senator, federal deputy, state deputy); it does not include the final links (mayor and councilman) established in the law.

Even so, the losses are great. With linkage up to state deputy, Miro Teixeira drops from the 19 percent obtained in the simple selection of a candidate for governor to 15.8 percent; he, therefore, loses 16.8 percent of his votes.

But he increases his advantage over Sandra, who drops from 17.9 percent to 13.8 percent (a loss of 22.9 percent), and over Brizola, who loses 22 percent of the votes he would obtain by himself, dropping from a figure of 6.3 to 4.9 percent with linkage. Lysaneas Maciel loses 15.6 percent of his votes, which goes from 1.6 to 1.4 percent [all figures as published].



Chamber and Assembly, the Greatest Indecision

More than 80 percent of the electorate of the state of Rio de Janeiro still do not have a candidate for federal deputy or state deputy, and 77 percent thus far have not selected for whom to vote for senator and councilman.

The choice of the candidate for councilman, in the capital, appears in the poll to be one of the most difficult ones to be made by the voter. No less than 88.4 percent of the people polled still do not know for whom to vote for the municipal chamber of Rio. That percentage drops to 67.3 in the selection of councilmen in the Baixada Fluminense, and to 64.3 percent in the rest of the interior.

The number of those who do not have a candidate for federal deputy and state deputy ranges between 80 and 85 percent, both in the capital and in the interior. The general average of 77 percent of those who do not know for whom to vote for senator rises to 82.7 in the capital but, strangely enough, drops to 59.3 in the Baixada Fluminense.

Chamber of Deputies
CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS

PMDB

Jorge Leite
Joel Vivas
Marcelo Cerqueira
MacDowell Leite de Castro
Márcio Braga
Daniel Silva
Marcelo Medeiros
Oswaldo Lima
Nelson Louzada
Daso Coimbra
Alcir Pimenta
Jecé Valadão
Denozir Afonso
Jorge Moura
Modesto da Silveira
Noel Carvalho
Leônidas Sampaio
Laércio Fonseca

PTB

Roberto Jefferson Monteiro
Jorge Curi
José Alverli
Péricles Gonçalves

PDS

Simão Sessim
Rubem Medina
Léo Simões
Lázaro José de Carvalho
Darcilio Ayres
Osmar Leitão
Alair Ferreira
Eduardo Galli
Alvaro Valle
Heitor Furtado

PDT

Aquinaldo Timóteo
Sebastião Nery
Clemir Barros

Assembly

ASSEMBLEIA

Atílio Nunes
Paulo Duque
Alberto Dauaire
Mesquita Bráulio
Sebastião Ferreira Duque
Aluisio Gama
Beto Gama
Joaquim Jôia
Edésio Frias
Heloneida Studart
Edgar de Carvalho Junior
Afrânio Mendonça
Paulo Albernaz
Darcy Brum
Arlido Capitão
Olávio Cabral
Napoleão Veloso
Maurício Pinkusfeld
Ubaldo Oliveira
Pedro Ferreira da Silva
José Montes Paixão
Silvério do Espírito Santo

Jarbas Steilman
Romualdo Carrasco
Daniel Coelho de Lima
Jorge Perelra de Souza
Arismar Dias

Jorge David
José Leite Nader
Josias Avila Junior
Alvaro Pereira de Faro
Edson Guimarães
Antônio Gaspar
José Abraão Haddad
Joaquim de Freitas

José Gouvêa Filho

The only elective offices regarding which the vote polled showed greater clarity of choice was those of mayor and governor, precisely those who are going to occupy executive positions and hold the greatest power of decision after the election.

For mayor of municipalities in the interior--the capital does not elect its own inasmuch as he is appointed by the governor--42.7 percent of the electorate would know for whom to vote if the election were held now. In any case, more than half (57.3 percent) of the electorate of the interior still does not have a candidate for mayor.

Faced with the question of whether they already had a candidate for governor, 58.8 percent of those polled said "Yes." In the course of the poll, when asked for [whom], the percentage of undecided (42.9 percent) is practically the same as that of those who do not have a candidate for Guanabara Palace (41.1 percent).

The Roads to the Undecided Vote

The revelation by the IBOPE poll that there are 42.9 percent of undecided voters in Rio de Janeiro with reference to the vote for governor offers the candidates the opportunity to discover the ballot lode. By identifying the undecided and tracking them down, the candidates will find the roads to the vote.

Who are they? how old are they? what is their occupation? how much do they earn? and where can those who are going to decide the election be found? In the first place, the majority of the undecided voters are women. Among women voters, 47.5 percent still do not have a candidate for governor; this indecision is much lower among the men, 38.8 percent.

There are more undecided in the 40 to 49 year-old group, voters who had the opportunity to vote for governor in the last direct election which occurred in 1962 in the old state of Rio and in 1965 in the old Guanabara.

The search for votes is a race with so many obstacles that each candidate needs to go into the interior to importune the 61.7 percent undecided votes among the men in the countryside and run after those who earn less than 23,216.00 cruzeiros (two minimum wages) both there and in the capital, because among them 54.5 percent remain filled with doubts regarding the governor they consider ideal. Of course, one cannot spurn the votes of those who have higher or secondary education, but the largest margin of undecided is among those who have only primary education (49.7 percent).

If they should prefer to define their election strategy by geographic areas, the candidates would simply have to preserve their positions in the Baixada Fluminense and penetrate into the interior of the state. In the Baixada, the group of undecided covers only 29.9 percent of the voters, whereas, in the rest of the interior, it amounts to 50.4, and in the capital it is 45.6 percent.

The Voter Is Confused About the Proportional Vote

The degree of decision by the voter regarding the candidates to the chamber and the assembly is still low. So low that it generates unexpected confusion.

For example: Eduardo Mascarenhas (PMDB) gained sufficient support to be among those preferred for the assembly. This is misplaced support because it is the chamber that he is running for. In the inverse order of error, the voters for Daisy Lucidi (PDS) want to see her in the chamber although she is running for a seat in the assembly.

Farther from the target were those who indicated Moreira Franco (candidate for governor of the state) and Celio Borja (who is running for the senate) as their favorites for federal deputy.

Roberto Jefferson Monteiro, in first place (with 0.9 percent) among those running for the chamber, is not immune to such deviations; the popularity of that PTB candidate strays to the group of contenders for a seat in the assembly, being among the first six in that group also.

In the listing (see chart) there is no representative of the PT because only those candidates who obtained more than 0.1 percent of the intended vote were considered. The PT candidates were below that figure for both the chamber and the assembly.

The PTB Has Not Decided; Assessment Is Difficult

The situation in the state with reference to the contest for a vacancy in the senate is too confused to make possible a precise assessment through election polls. Thus far, an impasse prevails in the matter of determining a PTB slate for the senate. Initially, Celso Brandt, who was chosen in convention, relinquished his candidacy. The party reconstituted the slate, using the three subslates.

However, a stable situation has not been reached. The slate officially sanctioned by the PTB is being contested in the Electoral Tribunal, with Senator Hugo Ramos claiming the status of native (and only) candidate of the party.

The most recent figures available regarding the preference of the Rio electorate with reference to the situation of those vying for the senate are the result of an IBOPE poll, however, one conducted with a methodology different from the one used in the poll that O GLOBO, Globo Television Network and ISTO E are beginning to issue today. Those figures are as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| Saturnino Braga (PDT) | 17.2 percent |
| Artur da Tavola (PMDB) | 15.9 |
| Celio Borja (PDS) | 13.4 |
| Paiva Muniz (PTB) | 6.2 |
| Mario Martins (PMDB) | 4.8 |
| Rafael de Almeida Magalhaes | 3.7 |
| Wladimir Palmeira | 1.6 |

| | |
|-------------------------|------|
| None of the above | 10.7 |
| Do not know | 21.9 |
| Did not express opinion | 4.5 |

Those percentages in reality would indicate that candidate Artur da Tavola is leading. Thanks to the use of the substate by the PMDB, he adds to his votes those given to Mario Martins (4.8 percent) and Rafael de Almeida Magalhaes (3.7 percent), making a total of 24.4 percent.

SAO PAULO: UNDECIDED 60 PERCENT; MONTORO 19.5 PERCENT

At the present time, Franco Mouro is the candidate preferred by the electorate of Sao Paulo for governor of the state. The IBOPE poll gave him 19.5 percent of the Sao Paulo votes, more than double the support received by the PDS candidate, Renaldo de Barros (9.8 percent), is in second place.

Third place in the poll--based on 3,000 interviews conducted during the period from 2 to 18 of this month--went to the PT candidate, Luis Inacio da Silva (Lula), who with 6.9 percent support beats by a good margin FTB candidate Janio Quadros, for the time being confined to 3.7 percent, Roge Ferreira of the PDT does not have more than 0.1 percent.

While in the state of Rio de Janeiro the undecided at this time still represent a little less than half of the electorate, in Sao Paulo they make up a majority of 60 percent, the highest level found by IBOPE in the eight states where the poll was conducted.

In His Base, Lula Is Only Second

In Greater Sao Paulo, where he established his union leadership, later converted into party action, the PT candidate, Lula, is defeating the PDS candidate, Renaldo de Barros and assuming second place in the contest but he does not even approach the opposition represented by Franco Montoro, who has shot into the lead.

The 6.9 percent preference given to Lula in the whole state jumps to 9 percent in the ABCD region, while the 9.8 percent of Renaldo drops to 7 percent. There, Montoro even improves his position. His general percentage of 19.5 percent goes to 20.1 percent. Janio, in turn, also increases a little in the periphery of Sao Paulo but loses ground when his campaign advances through the rest of the interior.

Away from the capital, all the candidates for governor of Sao Paulo suffer a drop in their percentages. There is an explanation for that: there is much more indecision among the electorate of the interior than in that of the capital, as the poll confirmed. While 65.8 percent of the voters of the interior--there included with Greater Sao Paulo--have doubts about their vote for governor, in the capital they amount to 49.8 percent.

The candidates who suffer the greatest jolt to their percentages when they leave the capital are Janio Quadros and Lula, who do not have behind them such ramified party organizations as those of the PMDB and the PDS. Janio has 5.8 percent of the votes in the capital and only 2.5 percent of the votes in the interior. Lula gets the support of 10.3 percent of the voters in the capital but only 5 percent of those in the interior.

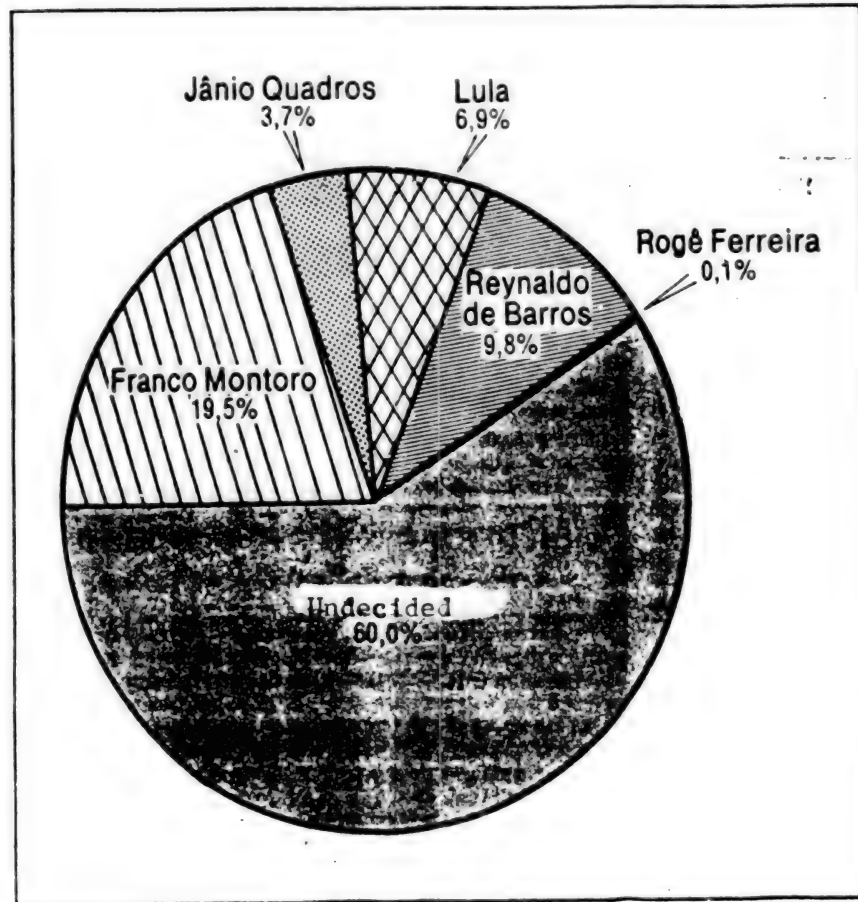
Renaldo de Barros drops from 12.6 percent in the capital to 8.2 percent in the interior. Montoro is the one who suffers less of a loss. He gets the preference of 21.5 percent of those who are going to vote in the capital and 18.4 percent of those who live in the interior.

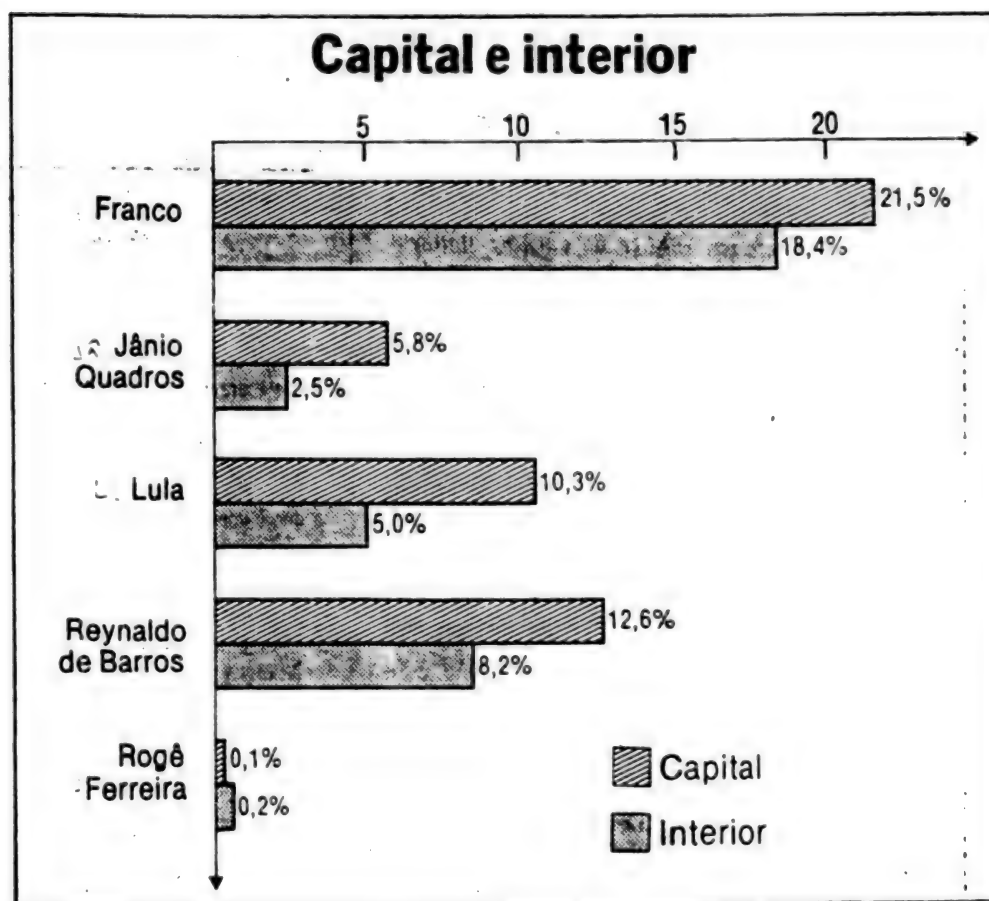
Linkage Hurts Janio's PTB Most

In the election for governor, the linkage of votes will hurt PTB candidate Janio Quadros the most. He would lose a 14.4 percent slice of his votes, which would be invalidated by the voters not fulfilling the requirement to vote for candidates of their same party. Linkage would cut 8 percent of the total of votes of the PMDB candidate, Franco Montoro; 5.1 percent of Reynaldo de Barros'; and 3.9 percent of Lula's.

| <u>Candidates for Governor</u> | <u>Votes Without Linkage(%)</u> | <u>Votes With Linkage (%)</u> |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Franco Montoro | 19.5 | 17.9 |
| Janio Quadros | 3.7 | 3.2 |
| Lula | 6.9 | 6.6 |
| Reynaldo de Barros | 9.8 | 9.3 |
| Roge Ferreira | 0.1 | 0.1 |

The Votes for Governor





Indecision Is Trade Mark at All Levels

The immense majority of the Sao Paulo voters--more than 90 percent--have not yet chosen the candidates for whom they are going to vote for state deputy, federal deputy and senator. When IBOPE pollsters asked if they had candidates for those three legislative offices, 90.9 percent of those interviewed said "No" with reference to the senate; 90.8 percent with reference to the Chamber of Deputies; and 90.2 percent with reference to the Legislative Assembly.

The course of the poll shows that the number of undecided with reference to the vote for senator rises to 95.5 percent when those interviewed are asked, not if they have a candidate but for whom they would vote on 15 November.

The Sao Paulo electorate is surer when the times comes to choose the candidate for governor. Forty-two point six percent of them admit that they have a candidate for the Bandeirantes Palace, but when the time comes to identify him they appear to be a little more undecided (60 percent compared to the 57.4 percent who said that they did not have a candidate).

And for councilmen? Throughout the state only 20 percent have a candidate, an average that drops to 7.4 percent when the poll refers only to those who are going to make up the Municipal Council of the capital. Incidentally, it is in the capital that the voters have been encountering greater difficulty in choosing

a candidate for state deputy. Only 5.6 percent of the capital voters have decided for whom they are going to vote for the Legislative Assembly. The easiest choice in the capital, although still with a high level of undecided, is that of candidate for federal deputy: 11.2 percent of the voters know for whom they are going to vote.

As for mayor, the doubts are greater in the municipalities of Greater Sao Paulo. There, 73.8 percent of the voters do not have a candidate, a figure that drops to 63.8 percent in the rest of the interior.

Among the Decided, Papa Junior Wins

Businessman Papa Junior would be the senator for Sao Paulo if the elections were held now. He is not only ahead of the other candidates to the senate, individually, but he also benefits from the addition of the votes of the other two candidates of his party, the PDS, to his own.

Since the level of the undecided on the selection of senator is very high (95.5 percent), the percentages that the poll gives the candidates appears to be insignificant. For example, Papa Junior, in first place, has only 1.1 percent of the support of the electorate. After him, comes his PDS comrade, Adhemar de Barros Filho, with 1 percent. Tied in third place are two PMDB candidates, Almino Afonso and Severo Gomes, each with 0.7 percent. They are followed by Jacob Bittar (PT) with 0.6 percent; Blota Junior (PDS), with 0.2 percent; and Helio Navarro (PMDB) and Jose Roberto de Faria Lima (PTB), each with 0.1 percent. Eusebio Rocha (PDT) did not get any listable votes in the poll.

The favorite candidate in the periphery of Sao Paulo, however, is Almino Afonso (1.5 percent). There, after Papa Junior (0.9 percent), Jacob Bittar closes in on Adhemar de Barros Filho, and both come out with 0.6 percent. In the rest of the state, Papa Junior holds his position in first place but it is Severo Gomes who moves to second place.

Even With Linkage, PDS Stays Ahead

The PDS is one of the parties that would be most affected by the linkage of votes in the election for the senate in Sao Paulo. In the hypothesis proposed by IBOPE in its interviews--linkage of only the votes for governor, senator, federal deputy and state deputy--Papa Junior would lose 12.5 percent of his votes; Adhemar de Barros Filho, 13.8 percent; and Blota Junior, 20 percent. In the PMDB, Almino Afonso would lose 9.1 percent of his votes; Severo Gomes 4.8 percent. In the PTB, Faria Lima would lose 25 percent. In the PT, Jacob Bittar's loss would be 5.9 percent.

| PMDB | Votes Without Linkage (%) | Votes With Linkage (%) |
|---------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Almino Afonso | 0.7 | 0.6 |
| Severo Gomes | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| Helio Navarro | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Total | 1.5 | 1.4 |

PDS

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|
| Blota Junior | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Papa Junior | 1.1 | 1.0 |
| Adhemar de Barros Filho | 1.0 | 0.9 |
| Total | 2.3 | 2.1 |

PDT

| | | |
|---------------|-----|-----|
| Eusebio Rocha | 0.0 | 0.0 |
|---------------|-----|-----|

PT

| | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|
| Jacob Bittar | 0.6 | 0.6 |
|--------------|-----|-----|

PTB

| | | |
|------------|-----|-----|
| Faria Lima | 0.1 | 0.1 |
|------------|-----|-----|

The Preference for Federal Deputy

Former Governor Paulo Maluf heads the preference of the electorate in election for the Chamber of Deputies. He obtained 2.3 percent of the IBOPE vote.

[In order of preference:]

PDS: Paulo Maluf, Jorge Paulo Nogueira, Natal Gale, Silvio Fernandes Lopes, Diogo Nomura, Jorge Maluly Neto, Cunha Bueno.

PMDB: Joao Cunha, Raul Goncalves, Del Bosco Amaral, Samir Achoa, Horacio Ortiz, Marcio Santille, Raimundo Cunha Leite, Jose Marcondes Pereira, Teodoro Mendes.

PT: Irma Passoni, Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy, Airtton Soares.

Undecided Represent 7.2 Million Votes

Projecting the figure of 60 percent undecided on the basis of the 12 million voters in Sao Paulo indicates that there is a potential 7.2 million votes to be vied for by the five candidates for governor.

Those undecided voters can be found more in the interior (4.7 million) than in the capital (2.7 million). As in Rio, there are more undecided among the women in Sao Paulo (66.2 percent) than among the men (54.8 percent). It is the youth

between 18 and 24 years of age who feel most lost, without knowing for whom to vote: 62.7 percent of the voters in that age bracket still do not have a candidate for governor.

If they seek them by occupation, the candidates are going to find them in the countryside (79 percent), in the civil service (60.7 percent), among the retired (59.1 percent) at the factory doors (58.6 percent) or even among the students (57 percent). By income level, there is no mistake: they can be found much more easily among those who earn up to two minimum wages (74.5 percent).

MINAS GERAIS: TANCREDO IN THE LEAD

Tancredo Neves (PMDB) is the favorite of the Minas voters, with 28.8 percent of the votes for governor. The contest throughout the state is polarized between him and the PDS candidate, Eliseu Resende, who gets 20.2 percent of the preference. The figures for the other candidates are almost negligible.

Sandra Sterling (PT) shows a figure of 1.3 percent, Teotonio Santos Junior (PDT), 0.5 percent. The PTB is not running in the state; because of failure to meet legal requirements, it did not obtain registration.

It is, therefore, among the mass of undecided (49.2 percent) that are found the votes capable of consolidating or changing the current situation.

PDS Organization in the Interior May Help

In Belo Horizonte, the road that Eliseu Resende would have to travel to equal or surpass the votes of Tancredo Neves is a long one: his percentage in the capital is 14.1 percent; Tancredo's is 26.1 percent. That means that the votes given to Eliseu amount to a little more than half--54 percent to be exact--of those given to the PMDB candidate.

In the interior, the difference becomes less; with the reduction of the group of undecided, Tancredo rises to 29.3 percent but Eliseu Resende's increase in proportional terms is even more suggestive: he goes to 21.2 percent, which is 72 percent of the votes given to his opponent.

According to the IBOPE poll, the concept of the interior embodies a subdivision in the periphery (corresponding to Greater Belo Horizonte), where Tancredo gets 35.9 percent of the votes and Eliseu, 24.8 percent; and the interior properly speaking, where those figures drop to 27.7 percent and 20.1 percent, respectively.

It is in that segment of the interior that conditions exist for a sharpening of the contest between the candidates of the PDS and the PMDB. Benefiting from a little broader party organization, the PDS will run candidates for mayor in 708 of the 722 Minas municipalities. That means that the government party will vie for the mayor's office in all of the municipalities in the state that have political autonomy because it will not run only in those where the mayor is appointed: the capital and the 13 hydromineral reservations.

The PMDB, which also has a solid organization, will run in a total of 694 mayoralty contests.

That prospect of a contest at the local level stimulates the two major parties. But the present reality of the distribution of power favors the PDS, which has 667 mayors in Minas, with the PMDB having the remaining 55.

The PT and the PDT are far from having those advantages. The Workers Party will run for mayor in 172 municipalities; the PDT, organized in 146 municipalities--only five more than the legal minimum to operate as a party in Minas--is facing some difficulties in running for mayor in all of them.

For all those reasons, it will be difficult for Sandra Sterling (PT candidate for the governorship of the state) and Teotonio Santos Junior (the PDT candidate) to change in a significant manner the percentages they hold at the present time: Sandra has 1.3 percent (0.9 percent in the capital and 1.4 percent in the interior) and Teotonio has 0.5 percent (0.2 and 0.6 percent, respectively).

Minas Gerais has 6.5 million voters and the interior, accounting for 5.6 million of that total, carries a much stronger relative weight than the capital (900,000 voters) in determining trends and, consequently, the percentages given to each candidate.

Linkage Favors PMDB More Than PDS

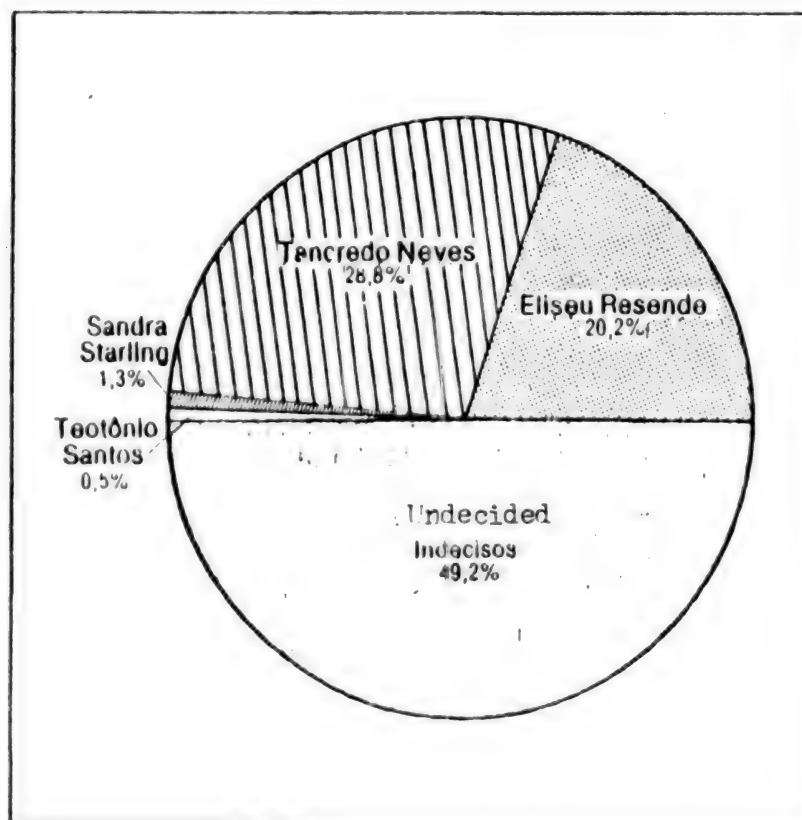
If the election were held now in Minas, linkage--at least in the chain going from governor to state deputy--would favor the candidate of the largest opposition party. In hurdling the obstacles of that course, Tancredo Neves of the PMDB would lose 22.7 percent--a very good performance compared with the 39.0 percent which Eliseu Resende would lose, or with the devastating erosion that would consume 48.7 percent of Sandra Sterling's votes and 93.3 percent of the intended votes for Teotonio Santos Junior.

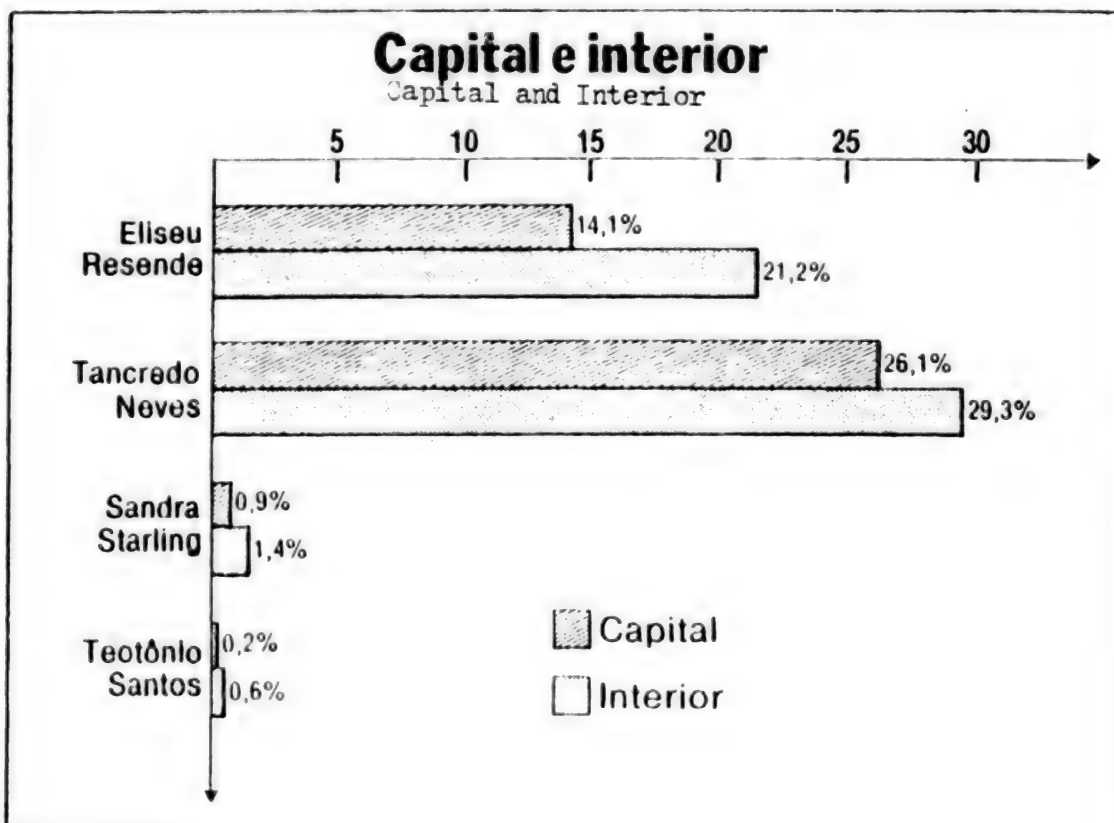
Altered by linkage, the percentages for the candidates become 22.3 percent for Tancredo, 12.2 percent for Eliseu and 0.7 percent for Sandra Sterling. Teotonio dos Santos disappears, reduced to the figure of a hundredth which the poll standards do not take into account.

Success in the linkage chain would be connected with, among other factors, the soundness of the party structure, the homogeneity of the slate and the conditions under which the campaign develops. The PDS's delay in deciding on its slate for the senate can be taken, therefore, as an acceptable explanation for Eliseu's sudden drop upon facing the linkage requirement. The IBOPE itself indicates that it is at the first stage [of linkage] that the PDS candidate loses most ground: 31.7 percent of his votes are lost when the voter is asked to associate him with the name of a candidate to the senate. At that same stage, Tancredo Neves loses only 8.9 percent.

| Candidates for Governor | Votes Without Linkage (%) | Votes With Linkage (%) |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Tancredo Neves | 28.8 | 22.3 |
| Eliseu Resende | 20.2 | 12.2 |
| Sandra Sterling | 1.3 | 0.7 |
| Teotônio Santos Junior | 0.5 | 0 |

The Votes for Governor





Delay in Deciding for Senate Hurt PDS

Finally, a case of indecision that does not pertain to the mass of voters but to the parties and their candidates. When the IBOPE poll was conducted, the Minas PDS was waiting for Deputy Magalhaes Pinto to make a choice between the alternatives of running for the senate or try for reelection to the chamber. When Magalhaes formalized his decision to run for reelection, his votes had already taken various and almost unfathomable courses. It is possible that some of them carried by the cohesive strength of the PDS party label may have flowed to the other candidate of the party, former Vice Governor Joao Marques de Vasconcelos. It is possible that an even larger number has served to swell the ranks of the undecided--69 percent in the case of senate elections, something well above the 49.2 percent who still do not know for whom to vote for governor. Finally, in game of attraction and repulsion in which the [former] National Democratic Union (UDN) and Social Democratic Party (PSD) elements coexist in Minas politics, it is not absurd to suppose that Magalhaes' supporters have temporarily given a superficial reinforcement to the position of Itamar Franco (PMDB candidate).

When the Minas PDS decided that Magalhaes Pinto's substate would be transferred to Fagundes Netto, IBOPE had already concluded the interview phase.

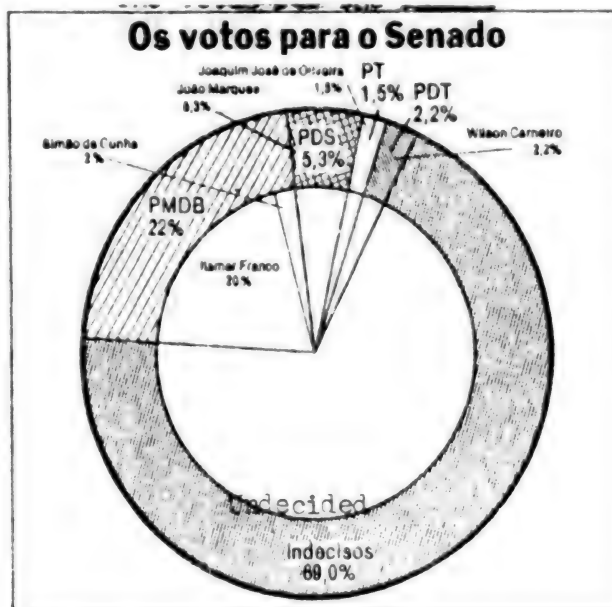
Therefore, the results of the poll with reference to the senate must be viewed as absolutely true at the moment it was conducted but not as an exact reflection of the present picture.

Itamar Franco appears in first place with 20 percent of the votes--a position that is reinforced by the 2 percent held by Simao da Cunha, who is running on a subslate for the PMDB, Joao Marques of the PDS appears in second place with 5.3 percent. After them comes Wilson Carneiro Vidigal (PDT) with 2.2 percent and Joaquim Jose de Oliveira (PT) with 1.5 percent.

The resistance of Joao Marques to the linkage effect shows that it was the indecision regarding the senate slate that caused the most serious harm in the Eliseu Resende case when his voters were asked to complete the governor-senator-federal deputy-state deputy chain. With the missing link determined--that is the candidate to the senate himself serving as a reference--the PDS passes the linkage test better than all his competitors.

The effect of linkage is devastating on the PT and PDT candidates: Wilson Carneiro Vidigal (PDT) loses 95.4 percent and drops to 0.1 percent; Joaquim Jose de Oliveira loses 71.1 percent and ends up with 0.4 percent.

The Votes for the Senate



Voters More Concerned About Majority Offices

The Minas voters appear to be very concerned about the more immediate expressions of political power. The percentage of those who have already chosen a candidate for mayor (42.3 percent) is less only than those who know for whom they will vote for governor (52.7 percent). Considering only the interior--inasmuch as the capital has an appointed mayor--the difference diminishes: the figure for those who have already decided on a name for mayor goes to 49.2 percent, and the 53.5 percent for those who have candidates for the governor of the state.

But the interior also has its group of those who are detached from the election for mayor: they are the voters of the 13 hydromineral reservations. Since there is no election for mayors in those municipalities, there are no candidates and, consequently, there are no decisions. That observation suggests that in the interior, the percentages of decisions pertaining to mayor and governor is equivalent.

Of those interviewed by IBOPE in Minas Gerais, 35.9 percent already have a councilman candidate--a percentage greater than that for decisions pertaining to senate elections (33.7 percent).

A seat in the Legislative Assembly appears to receive greater attention from the Minas voter than a vacancy in the distant Chamber of Deputies: the percentage of those who have a candidate for state deputy (18.8 percent) exceeds that of those who know for whom they are going to vote for federal deputy (14.3 percent).

In the Capital, the Highest Percentage of Undecided

The candidate for governor who wants to find the greatest concentration of the undecided in Minas Gerais does not have to leave the capital. While the general figure for the undecided is 49.2 percent, the undecided in Belo Horizonte amount to 58.6 percent of the voters.

The indecision is greater among the women (56 percent) than among the men [no figure given for men]. It is high in the income bracket up to two minimum wages (56 percent); among the voters 50 years old and up (51.8 percent); among the retired (54.5 percent); and among those with primary school education (54.7 percent).

The poll suggests that--in terms of more, or less decisions by the voters--there must be a sharp contrast in the interior between the urban and rural areas. The interior presents a figure of 48.1 percent of undecided; but it is naturally in the interior of the state that agricultural activity is concentrated, a segment that contains the high percentage of 56.1 undecided.

Finally, the figures suggest that the taste of something new is a better stimulant for an election decision than the remembrance of past experiences. Among those who have already voted for governor (in 1965, when Israel Pinheiro was elected), there are 52.3 percent undecided. Among those who never did so, the percentage is lower; 46.4 percent.

Mauricio Campos Leads in Poll for the Chamber

Of the 17 candidates receiving the most votes in the IBOPE poll in Minas, nine belong to the PDS, eight to the PMDB. The absolute leadership lies with Mauricio Campos, former mayor of Belo Horizonte, with a figure of 0.9 percent. Another PDS candidate, Nilton Moreira Veloso, appears in second place with 0.8 percent. This report lists [in the order of preference] only those who obtained a minimum of 0.2 percent of the preference of the voters consulted.

PMDB: Juarez Batista, Sergio Ferrara, Jose Aparecido, Geraldo Falci Mendes, Antonio Dias, Jose Ulisses de Oliveira, Rosemburgo Romano, Renato Azeredo.

PDS: Mauricio Campos, Milton Moreira Veloso, Homero Santos, Nelson de Senna, Mario Assad, Vicente Gabiroba, Aecio Cunha, Delson Scarano, Cristovam Chiaradia, Emilio Haddad Filho.

RIO GRANDE DO SUL: JAIR LEADS OPPOSITION

Although by only 0.9 percent difference, former Minister Jair Soares, PDS candidate is ahead of Pedro Simon, PMDB candidate in the election campaign for governor of Rio Grande do Sul. The sampling of the 2,000 interviews made by IBOPE in the state between the 13th and 23d of this month, reveal that Jair Soares gets 24.2 percent of the voters' preference, against 23.3 percent of support given to Pedro Simon.

In third place is the PDT candidate, Alceu Colares, with 13.1 percent. For the time being, the PT candidate, Olivio Dutra, does not have more than an insignificant 1.0 percent. The PTB is not running in the election for governor of Rio Grande do Sul, a state where one of the lowest figures of undecided was found--38.2 percent--only higher than the one in Santa Catarina (36.6 percent).

A Balanced Contest in the Capital and Interior

The election contest in Rio Grande do Sul is balanced between the candidates of PDS and the PMDB, as is shown by the geographic distribution of the support that each has been receiving. Though he wins in the state overall, even by a small difference, Jair Soares loses to Pedro Simon in the capital and in Greater Porto Alegre.

In the capital, for example, the PDS candidate now has 25.2 percent against 29.1 percent for Pedro Simon. In the periphery of the capital of Rio Grande do Sul, Pedro Simon has 25.3 percent, a considerable advantage compared to the 17.6 percent for Jair Soares in the same region. But Jair Soares makes up for it in the rest of the state, where his march toward the 15 November election has reached the level of 25.2 percent against 21.7 percent of his PMDB opponent.

Pedro Simon may have the consolation that where he is beaten by Jair Soares--the interior, excluding the metropolitan area of Porto Alegre--there is the largest number of undecided among the voters. But he can also bear the nightmare of the difficulties of his party organization in that area. The PDS has 144 mayors and is running in mayoralty contests in 218 of the 244 Rio Grande do Sul municipalities. The PMDB has only 62 mayors and is running candidates in a smaller number of municipalities than the PDS--212.

Alceu Colares, for his part, is not too far behind his opponents as he confronts them within Porto Alegre. Her percentage recorded there by IBOPE is 22.7 percent (against 25.2 percent for Jair Soares and 29.1 percent for Pedro Simon). His position even improves when he competes with them in Greater Porto Alegre. He jumps to second place, with 18 percent, beating the PDS candidate (17.6 percent) by a small margin and being below only Pedro Simon (25.3 percent).

On the other hand, Olivio Dutra's candidacy is understood more in Porto Alegre, where he gets the support of 3.2 percent of the electorate. In Greater Porto Alegre, his vote drops to 1.9 percent and drops even more in the interior (0.4 percent).

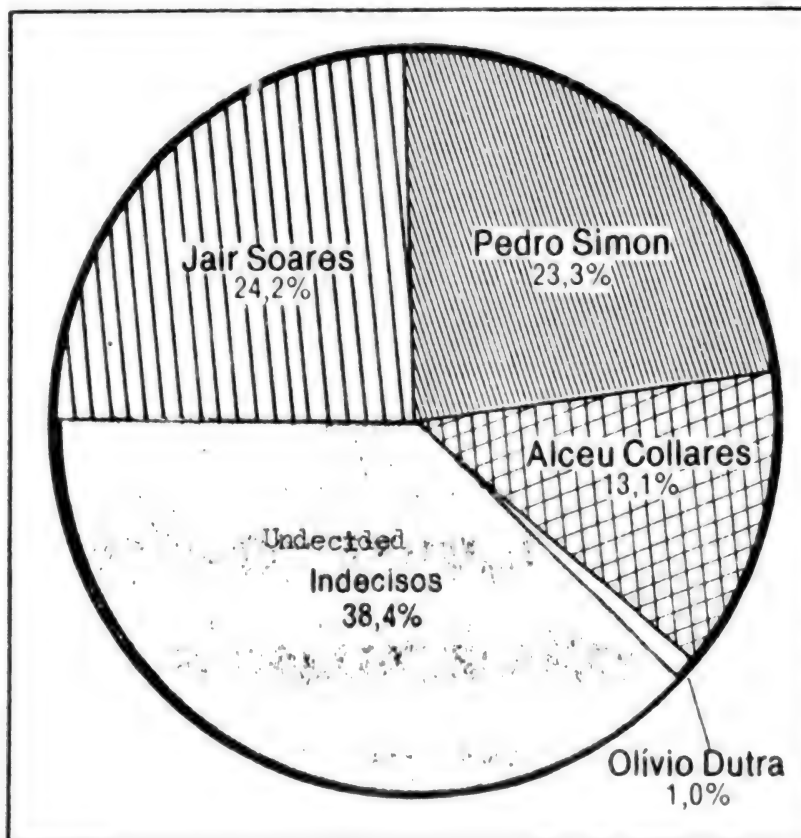
Linkage Increases Jair Soares' Advantage

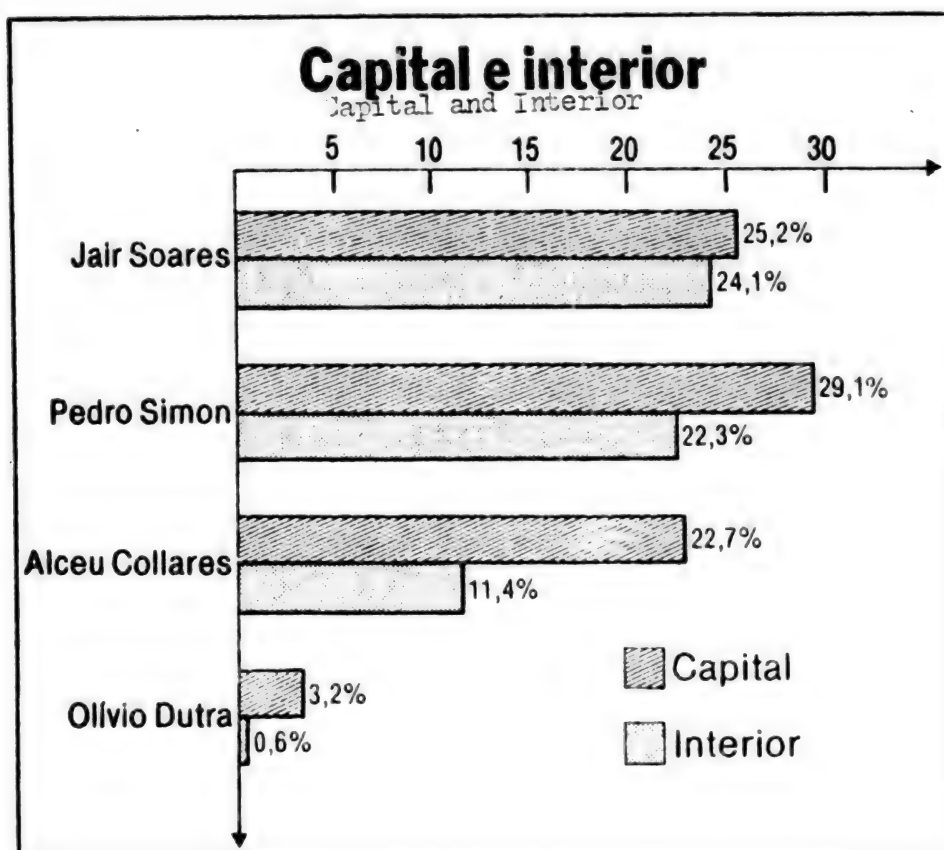
Jair Soares increases his small advantage over Pedro Simon when one takes into account the invalid votes from linkage. The PDS then gets 22 percent of the voters' preference against 20.9 percent for the PMDB candidate.

The PDS is the party that expects to be hurt the least by the votes that are not linked correctly, as called for by the law--one can only vote for candidates of the same party. Jair Soares would lose 9.1 percent of his votes with linkage; Pedro Simon, 10.5 percent, and Alceu Colares and Olivio Dutra, 19 percent each.

| Candidates for Governor | Votes Without Linkage (%) | Votes With Linkage (%) |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Jair Soares | 24.2 | 22 |
| Pedro Simon | 23.3 | 20.9 |
| Alceu Colares | 13.1 | 10.6 |
| Olivio Dutra | 1 | 0.8 |

The Votes for Governor





Brossard Alone Defeats the Two PDS Candidates

Paulo Brossard, the only PMDB candidate is ahead of the two PDS candidates, Carlos Alberto Chiarelli and Alberto Hoffman in the contest for the senate. At the present time, Brossard's vote is 16.6 percent; Chiarelli, 9.5 percent; and Hoffmann, 4.2 percent.

Getulio Dias, who is running for the PDT gets 8.1 percent, half of the support gained thus far by Brossard. In last place is the PT candidate, Raul Pont (0.6 percent).

One out of every four inhabitants of Porto Alegre (25.6 percent) is voting for Brossard for the senate. After him, the one getting the most votes in the capital is Getulio Dias, with 13.3 percent. They are followed, practically in similar positions by the two candidates of the PDS, Chiarelli (7.8 percent) and Hoffman (7.4 percent). The PT candidate attracts 2.3 percent of the votes of Porto Alegre, his best position in this election campaign, according to IBOPE.

When the contest moves to the municipalities around Porto Alegre, even Getulio Dias, with 13.8 percent gains from adding the PDS subslates (10.3 percent) in the area. In the rest of the interior, the only candidate that increases in

the preference of the electorate is Carlos Alberto Chiarelli, progressing from his general average of 9.5 percent to 10.4 percent. In that area, which excludes Porto Alegre and its metropolitan region, the sum of his votes together with those of Hoffmann results in the PDS pulling up even in the contest with Brossard. There, the PDS subslates get 14.1 percent and Brossard 14.3 percent.

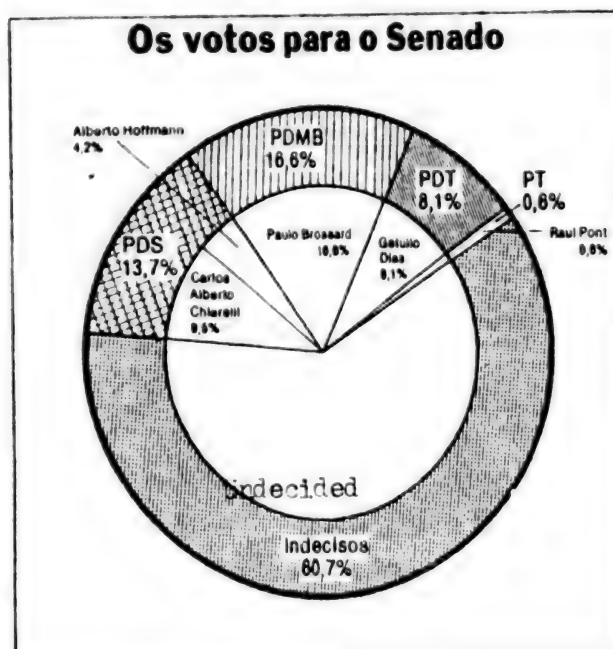
PDS Is Least Hurt by Linkage in Senate

The PT is the party hurt the most by the linkage of votes in the election for senator in Rio Grande do Sul. Practically two out of every five votes it receives for the senate are invalidated because of linkage. Its percentage of invalid votes when the votes for senator are incorporated with those for governor, federal deputy and state deputy, is 38.5 percent.

Put to a similar test, Paulo Brossard (PMDB) and Getulio Dias (PDT) would each lose 14.7 percent of their electoral support. Carlos Alberto Chiarelli (PDS), would lose 12.6 percent of his total vote. The one who would be least affected by linkage would be the other PDS candidate, Alberto Hoffmann, who would lose 7.1 percent of his votes.

| PDS | <u>Votes Without Linkage (%)</u> | <u>Votes With Linkage(%)</u> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Carlos Alberto Chiarelli | 9.5 | 8.3 |
| Alberto Hoffmann | 4.2 | 3.9 |
| Total subslates | 13.7 | 12.2 |
| PMDB | | |
| Paulo Brossard | 16.6 | 14.2 |
| PDT | | |
| Getulio Dias | 8.1 | 6.9 |
| PT | | |
| Raul Pont | 0.6 | 0.4 |

The Votes for the Senate



Indecision Is Greatest Among Youths Between 18 and 24 Years of Age

The 38.2 percent of the undecided in Rio Grande do Sul would correspond to about 1.5 million votes if that figure were projected on the basis of the 4 million voters in the state. The candidates for governor who want to gain them should look first to the youths between 18 and 24 years of age because 40.9 percent of them still do not know for whom to vote.

Unlike what occurs in other states, the undecided Rio Grande do Sul voters do not belong to the lowest income brackets. At least 54.8 percent of those who are earning more than 400,000 cruzeiros do not know for whom to vote for governor. In that same income bracket, 69 percent of the voters do not have a candidate for the senate.

The percentage of the undecided amounts to 78.3 percent when it comes time for the voter to select a candidate for state deputy. It amounts to 79.9 percent when it concerns election to the Chamber of Deputies.

With 2.2 percent, Nelson Marchezan of the PDS is the candidate for federal deputy with the largest number of supporters in Rio Grande do Sul. The first place PMDB candidate, Lelio Miguel Antunes de Souza, got 1.9 percent. This list of favorite candidates [in the order of preference] does not go beyond those who obtained 0.3 percent in the poll:

PMDB: Lelio Miguel Antunes de Souza, Erani Guilherme Muller, Jose Alberto Fogaca, Jussara Gauto, Hermes Zanete, Jorge Mequel, Antonio Rosa Flores, Sinval Guazzelli, Waldir Walter.

PDS: Nelson Marchezan, Jose Alcebiades de Oliveira, Helio Dourado, Augusto Trein, Oly Facchin, Pedro Germano, Hugo Mardini, Victor Faccioni.

PDT: Amauri Muller, Jose Antonio Albrecht, Matheus Schmidt, Indio Vargas

SANTA CATARINA: THE THREE VICTORIES OF ESPERIDIAO

Esperidiao Amin, PDS candidate for the governorship of Santa Catarina, achieves a triple feat: he beats the PMDB candidate, Jaison Barreto, by an ample margin; loses an insignificant 4.8 percent of his votes with linkage up through state deputy, and his percentage of support (35.5 percent) almost equals that of the undecided (36.6 percent), a feat without parallel in the eight states polled by IBOPE.

The three other candidates are out of the running, except in symbolic terms: Osmar Cunha (PTB) has 0.5 percent of the preference; Eurides Mescolotto (PT) gets 0.4 percent and Ligia Doutei de Andrade (PDT) does not get more than 0.3 percent.

The difference between Esperidiao Amin's 35.5 percent and the figure of 26.5 percent for Jaison Barreto does not represent a gap impossible to close. But it at least translates into a disquieting situation for the PMDB candidate inasmuch as, contrary to what occurs in the other states, the stock of undecided is small.

In the Capital and in Interior, Broad Dominance of PDS

The variations according to geographic location do not change the correlation of forces in an appreciable manner. In the capital, the advantage of Esperidiao over Jaison widens slightly: the PDS candidate has 29.6 percent of the votes, and the PMDB, 19.2 percent.

In Florianopolis, it is in the small electoral size of the PT, PTB and PDT that changes occur which can be perceived at a distance. The PTB candidate, Osmar Cunha, falls to point zero in the IBOPE scale; and Ligia Doutei de Andrade (PDT) and Eurides Mescolotto (PT) wage a private duel, balanced on the same percentage of 1.6 percent.

All of this, however, is diluted in view of the light relative weight represented by the capital in the state's electoral context; Santa Catarina has approximately 2 million voters and only some 110,000 reside in Florianopolis.

In the interior properly speaking, Jaison Barreto, climbing to 27.6 percent approaches Esperidiao Amin (35.3 percent) a little. But the periphery gives the PDS candidate such a broad victory (52 percent of the votes, against 14.7 for Jaison Barreto) that, although it constitutes a small electorate, it reestablishes the 9 percent advantage for Esperidiao in the interior, in the broader sense; that is, including in its concept the periphery itself.

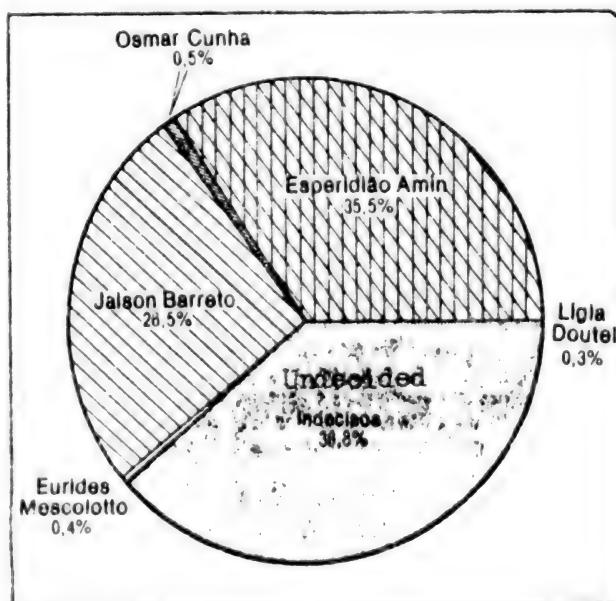
Linkage Does Not Hurt PDS and PMDB Much

In Santa Catarina, only the two largest parties--the PDS and PMDB--succeeded in maintaining a good organization. For that reason, it is natural that only their candidates for governor should surmount the linkage hurdle without any accident. Esperidiao Amin loses 4.8 percent of his votes: he drops from 35.5 percent to 33.8 percent. The erosion suffered by Jaison Barreto is a little greater: forced to form the governor-senator-federal deputy-state deputy chain, his voters invalidated 8.9 percent of the votes, causing his percentage to drop from 26.5 percent to 24.1 percent.

Forty-two point nine percent of Ligia Doutel de Andrade's votes would be invalidated, dropping her percentage from 0.3 percent to 0.2 percent. Osmar Cunha would lose 45.5 percent of his votes, dropping to 0.2 percent; the same level at which Eurides Mescolotto would end up, and for whom linkage represents a loss of exactly 50 percent.

| Candidates for Governor | Votes Without Linkage (%) | Votes With Linkage (%) |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Esperidiao Amin | 35.5 | 33.8 |
| Jaison Barreto | 26.5 | 24.1 |
| Osmar Cunha | 0.5 | 0.2 |
| Eurides Mescolotto | 0.4 | 0.2 |
| Ligia Doutel de Andrade | 0.3 | 0.2 |

The Votes for Governor

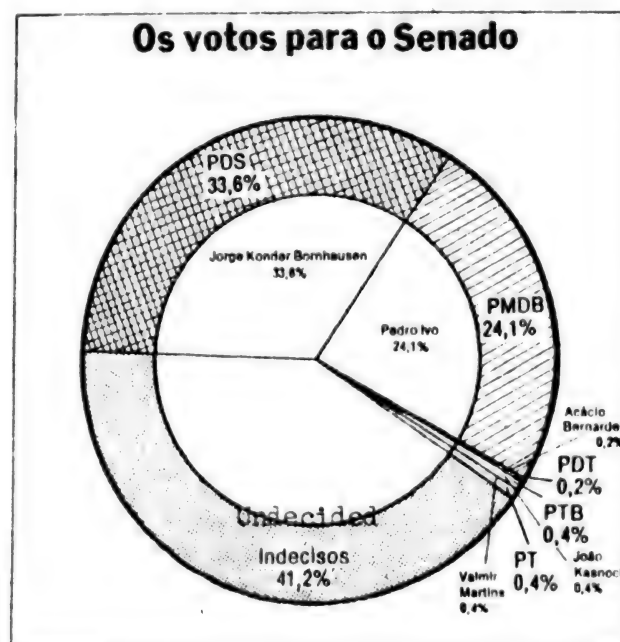


In the Senate, the Same Correlation of Forces

The situation of the candidates for the senate reproduces quite faithfully the picture pertaining to the contenders for governor of the state. Jorge Konder Bornhausen (PDS) has 33.6 percent of the votes, Pedro Ivo Campos (PMDB) has 22.56 percent. Following them are: Joao Kasnock (PTB), 0.4 percent; Martins (PT), 0.4 percent; and Acacio Bernardes (PDT), 0.2 percent. Among the candidates for the senate, the one who loses the least from linkage is the candidate of the PMDB.

| <u>Candidates for the Senate</u> | <u>Votes Without Linkage (%)</u> | <u>Votes With Linkage(%)</u> |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Jorge Konder Bornhausen (PDS) | 33.6 | 31.2 |
| Pedro Ivo Campos (PMDB) | 24.1 | 22.6 |
| Joao Kasnock (PTB) | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| Valmir Martins (PT) | 0.4 | 0.1 |
| Acacio Bernardes (PDT) | 0.2 | 0.2 |

The Votes for the Senate



The Favorites for the Chamber of Deputies

Adhemar Ghisi (1.8 percent) and Nelson Morro (1.3 percent), both of the PDS, are the candidates to the chamber most cited by the voters of the state. In the PMDB, the leaders are Walmor de Luca (1 percent), and Ivo Vanderlinde and Dirceu Carneiro, who are tied with 0.8 percent. In compiling this list [in the order of preference] only the candidates who obtained a minimum of 0.3 percent of the votes were considered; that is why the list does not include any representative of the PTB, the PDT or the PT.

PDS: Adhemar Ghisi, Nelson Morro, Evaldo Amaral, Vilson Kleinburg, Fernando Amorim Artenir Werner, Joao Paganella, Epitacio Bittencourt, Enio Andrade Branco, Pedro Colin, Fernando Bastos, Paulo Freitas Melro

PMDB: Walmor de Luca, Ivo Vanderlinde, Dirceu Carneiro, Luiz H. da Silveira, Renato Mello Viana

Figures for the Decided Drop in Reference to the Chamber

The figures for the decided is high with reference to all majority election offices: 65.5 percent of those interviewed have a candidate for governor; 60.8 percent already known for whom they are going to vote for the senate; 39.8 percent have a candidate for mayor.

As for the proportional elections, 34.2 percent know for whom to vote for councilmen, showing a reasonable attunement between the voters and the merely local level leaders. The figures for the decided drop with reference to the candidates to the assembly (20.4 percent) and the chamber (19.3 percent).

PARANA: PMDB IN GOVERNORSHIP, PDS IN SENATE

If the results of the elections were a simple projection of the current intentions to vote, the victory in Parana would be divided between the government and the opposition. The PMDB candidate for state governor, Jose Richa, remains ahead with a figure of 24.1 percent. He is followed at a distance by Saul Raiz (PDS) with 15.6. The others show only the decision of their parties to make a showing in the election: Edesio Passos (PT) is anchored at the zero stop and Edson Sa (PDT) has 0.5 percent of the votes.

In the contest among the candidates for the senate, the PDS avenges itself. Former Governor Ney Braga (18.2 percent) drags enough votes to his party to defeat the combined subslates of the PMDB upheld by Leite Chaves (3 percent), Alvaro Dias (11.8 percent) and Alencar Furtado (1.3 percent). Furtado renounced his candidacy but it is little likely that the redistribution of his votes will appreciably alter the figure of 16.1 percent obtained by the subslates of the PMDB.

Another dropout is Paulo Pimentel, who was going to run for state governor under the PTB banner. According to IBOPE, a good technical solution is to shift his 3.6 percent of the vote to the group of undecided, which thus increases from 56.6 percent to 60.1 percent.

Richa Consolidates His Position With Votes of the Interior

Jose Richa refutes the tradition that accompanies opposition candidates: generally, they perform better in the capital than in the interior. With bases in the north of Parana, Richa not only refutes but inverts that trend. In the capital he achieves a percentage of 16.9 (against 11.4 percent for Raiz) and in the interior, he increases to 25.3 percent (against 16.3 percent for the PDS candidate). That means that in the capital, Raiz's votes amount to 67 percent of those given Richa; in the interior, they represent only 64 percent.

The PMDB candidates to the senate do not achieve Richa's feat. In the interior, their combined increase to 17.3 percent, but Ney Braga attracts the votes of that area even more strongly for the PDS, attaining a percentage of 20.3.

In any case, the election in Parana is still far from a deciding point. It is in the extensive area of the undecided that all of the candidates will have to look for support.

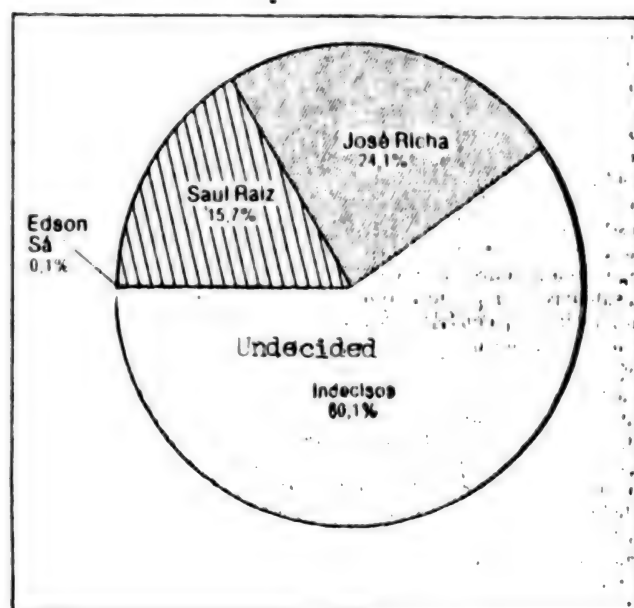
There are segments in which that figure of undecided is surprising: the income bracket below two minimum wages (71.4 percent with reference to the candidates for the senate, 66.7 percent with reference to the candidates for governor); the voters between 18 and 24 years of age (71.4 percent for the senate, 62.7 percent with reference to the election for governor); voters working in industrial activities (71.9 percent and 64.8, respectively).

Linkage Affects Richa More Than Saul Raiz

In the election for governor, Richa loses more than Raiz on facing the linkage test. The PMDB candidate has 17.6 percent of his votes invalidated; that of the PDS, only 8 percent. Even so, he maintains the lead with a figure of 19.9 percent against the balance of 14.4 retained by Saul Raiz. Edson Sa of the PDT suffers a devastating loss in that operation: invalidation of 100 percent.

| Candidates for Governor | Votes Without Linkage (%) | Votes With Linkage (%) |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Jose Richa (PMDB) | 24.1 | 19.9 |
| Saul Raiz (PDS) | 15.6 | 14.4 |
| Edesio Passos (PT) | 0 | 0 |
| Edson Sa (PDT) | 0.1 | 0 |

The Votes for Governor



Ney Braga Shows His Strength in Linkage

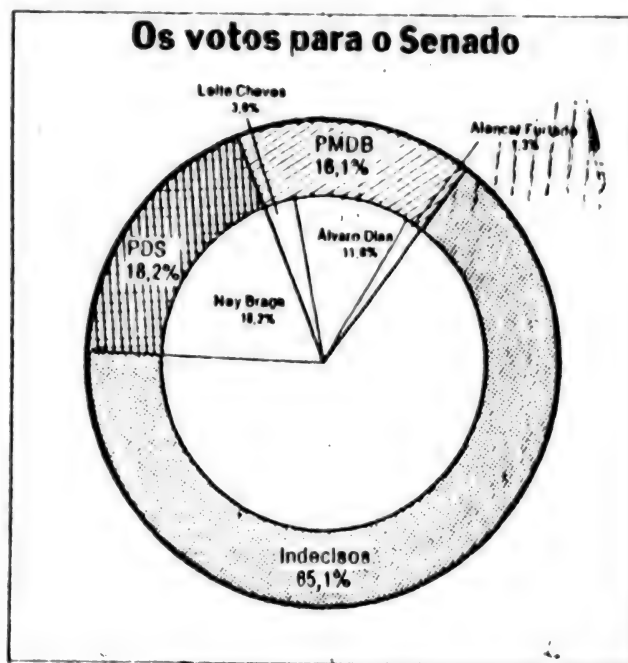
In linkage for the senate, Ney Braga loses a lot. A sign of weakness? No. In this case, what is asked is that, after the senator's name is cited the others be associated with it, beginning with the candidate for governor. In this very first stage, Ney loses 25.8 percent on account of those who do not remember Raiz's name. In the inverse situation, Raiz loses only 5.4 percent. That is, Ney's name is more easily remembered.

| <u>Candidates for the Senate</u> | <u>Votes Without Linkage (%)</u> | <u>Votes With Linkage (%)</u> |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| PDS | | |
| Ney Braga | 18.2 | 13.1 |
| PMDB | | |
| Leite Chaves | 3 | 2.3 |
| Alvaro Dias | 11.8 | 10.1 |
| Alencar Furtado | 1.3 | 0.9 |
| Total of subslates | 16.1 | 13.2 |
| PTB | | |
| Afonso Antoniuk | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| PT | | |
| Manoel Isais | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| PDT | | |
| Jose Raimundo | 0 | 0 |

Voter Has Decided on Names of Candidates for Senate

One peculiarity about Parana: the percentage of those who have chosen a candidate for the senate is very close to the figure pertaining to those who already know for whom they are going to vote for governor. In the first case, there are 35.6 percent of the voters; in the second, 44 percent. In the other cases, the figures of the decided are very low: 22.8 percent for candidate for councilman; 26 percent for mayor; 11.8 percent for state deputy; and 9.3 percent for federal deputy.

The Votes for the Senate



PMDB Has the Candidate Receiving Most Votes for the Chamber

Mauricio Fruet of the PMDB, for the time being, is the candidate for federal deputy who has the greatest support of the electorate in Parana, 0.5 percent. The following list [in the order of preference] includes only the names of those who obtained over 0.2 percent in the poll:

PMDB: Mauricio Fruet, Helio Duque, Heitor Alencar Furtado, Alvaro Dias, Oswaldo Trevisan

PDS: Fabiano Braga Cortes, Antonio Mazurek, Cleverson Marinho Teixeira, Norton Macedo, Antonio Ueno

PERNAMBUCO: MARCOS FREIRE IS LOSING

In the state where it harbored the greatest certainty of victory, the PMDB is now living with the specter of a double defeat: it may lose the gubernatorial and senatorial elections. The PDS candidate for the governorship of Pernambuco,

Roberto Magalhaes, is beating the PMDB candidate, Marcos Freire, by a good lead. He attracts the support of 36.6 percent of the voters, as against 24.2 percent of the support given to Marcos Freire.

The contest for governor in fact will be between those two candidates. The others are PTB candidate Father Antonio Melo Costa, who has only 0.5 percent of voter preference; and PT candidate Manoel da Conceicao, with 0.1 percent.

In the contest for the senate, the PDS is even more unconcerned inasmuch as its candidate, Marco Antonio Maciel is beating Cid Sampaio, the candidate of the PMDB, by the large difference of 36.8 percent to 16.8 percent. It is a contest of single candidates without the recourse of a substate. Two other candidates without any chance are also participating in it: Helio Nunes of the PTB, with 0.1 percent; and Bruno Maranhao of the PT, with 0.2 percent.

Interior Decides the Election for PDS

The opposition has always needed to base itself on a large majority of votes in Recife and its metropolitan area to compensate for the domination of the government party in the interior of the state. But that is not what Marcos Freire is doing now.

The advantage he has over Roberto Magalhaes inside Recife--28.7 percent to 19.5 percent--is small in the face of the vote thrashing the PDS is giving him in the interior--41.9 percent to 22.8 percent. The PMDB's hopes of a favorable reaction to Marcos Freire is nurtured by the fact that a little more than half of the electorate of Recife (51.5 percent) is still undecided in the election for governor. In the interior, that figure is much smaller--34.6 percent.

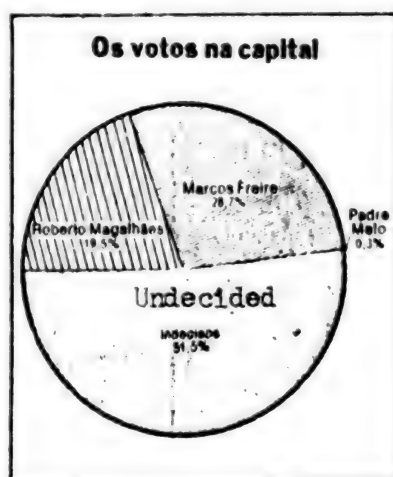
Roberto Magalhaes Loses Few Votes

The linkage of votes is a great enemy of Marcos Freire's campaign. When his votes are linked on the election ballot only to those of senator he loses 12.4 percent of his support by invalidation. In the same situation, Roberto Magalhaes does not lose more than 1.6 percent of his votes.

In a more encompassing hypothesis--that of linkage of votes for governor to those of senator, federal and state deputy, but still incomplete because current legislation extends linkage down to mayor and councilmen--the Pernambuco PMDB candidate still comes out losing more (13.5 percent). The PDS candidate remains practically unharmed by linkage (2.8 percent). So much so that with the linkage of votes for governor, senator and federal and state deputy, the general support figure received thus far by Marcos Freire drops from 24.2 percent to 20.8 percent. That for Roberto Magalhaes is reduced only from 36.6 percent to 35.1 percent.

| Candidates for Governor | Votes Without Linkage (%) | Votes With Linkage (%) |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Roberto Magalhaes | 36.6 | 35.1 |
| Marcos Freire | 24.2 | 20.8 |
| Padre Melo | 0.5 | 0.3 |
| Manoel da Conceicao | 0.1 | 0.1 |

The Votes in the Capital



Linkage Boosts Cid's Campaign

In the case of PMDB senatorial candidate Cid Sampaio, the reverse of what is happening to Marcos Freire's candidacy is true: linkage is more a cause of attraction than of invalidation of votes. In short: a part of Marcos Freire's voters have difficulty in assimilating Cid Sampaio's candidacy.

That can be shown in figures. When Marcos Freire links his votes to those of Cid Sampaio, he comes out losing 12.4 percent of his ammunition. When Cid links his votes to those of Marcos Freire, he does not lose more than 1.8 percent. Even the broader linkage--governor, senator, federal and state deputy--confirms that. In that hypothesis, while the votes of the candidate for governor are reduced by 13.5 percent, the candidate for the senate suffers a loss limited to 7.7 percent.

But in the election for the senate unlike what is happening in the gubernatorial election--the party that is affected most by linkage of votes is the PDS. Its candidate, Marco Maciel, loses five times more votes (8.6 percent) than Cid Sampaio (18. percent).

They Have Candidates But Remain Undecided

A peculiarity of the election campaign in Pernambuco: about 80 percent of the voters interviewed by IBOPE said they already have candidates not only for governor but also for senator. But when the pollsters asked them which candidates they were, the degree of indecision among them rose to 38.6 percent in the case of governor and to 46.1 percent in the case of senator.

| <u>Candidates for Senator</u> | <u>Votes Without Linkage (%)</u> | <u>Votes With Linkage(%)</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Marco Maciel | 36.8 | 33.3 |
| Cid Sampaio | 16.8 | 15.5 |
| Helio Nunes | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Bruno Maranhao | 0.2 | 0.1 |

The Votes for the Senate



Another [peculiarity of the election campaign in Pernambuco] is that in the streets, there is really a polarization in the election campaign. There are only two candidates in a position to win the election for governor: Roberto Magalhaes of the PDS and Marcos Freire of the PMDB; and two others really in a position to contend for the senate: Marco Maciel and Cid Sampaio. That would induce the voter consulted to admit that he already had a candidate for those two positions and to hesitate when the time can to identify them.

Seventy-one percent of those interviewed said that they also have not yet chosen candidates for federal deputy; almost 60 percent also do not have a candidate for state deputy. The average for the whole state of those who confessed that they have not yet decided for whom to vote for councilman was 64.6 percent, a figure that jumped to 80 percent when it pertained to councilman in Recife--a common indecision for the inhabitants of the capitals, as the poll showed. Almost half of the voters of the interior of Pernambuco do not know for whom to vote for mayor.

Projection of the figure of 38.6 percent of undecided on the basis of the 2.3 million voters in Pernambuco represents about 900,000 voters who have not yet made a choice and who may decide the election in the state. A profile of those undecided would indicate that they are mainly in the 30 to 50-year old bracket, earn between two and five minimum wages, and have higher education.

Jarbas and Farias Leading the Deputies

There are two candidates for federal deputy tied for first place in the voters' preference in Pernambuco: Jarbas Vasconcelos of the PMDB and Antonio Arruda de Farias of the PDS, both with a figure of 2.6 percent. This list of the favorite candidates [in order of preference] goes down as far as those who obtained a figure of 0.4 percent:

PDS: Antonio Arruda de Farias, Inocencio de Oliveira, Geraldo Melo, Josias Leite, Jose Jorge de Vasconcelos, Luiz Gonzaga Vasconcelos, Oswaldo Coelho, Nilson Gibson, Jose Mendonca, Airon Rios, Pedro Correia Neto, Ricardo Fiuza, Thales Ramalho, Geraldo Gueses.

PMDB: Jarbas Vasconcelos, Miguel Arraes, Fernando Lyra.

BAHIA: PDS IN THE GOVERNORSHIP, PMDB IN THE SENATE

The PDS is in front: Cleriston Andradè has 31.2 percent of the intended votes for governor and leads by 7.5 percentage points over Roberto Santos.

The PMDB leads: Walir Pires (10.8 percent) is 0.5 percent ahead of Luis Viana (PDS) is running away in the capital and the interior, and is close behind his opponent in the contest for a senate vacancy.

A simple confirmation of the current trends would give the governorship of Bahia to the PDS in the coming elections, leaving the PMDB with the consolation of reinforcing with a senate seat its representation in the college that will choose the next president of the republic.

But the situation of the PDS with Cleriston appears to be of much more unconcern than that of the PMDB with Waldir: in the case of the candidates for state governor, the figures draw an outline of decision; in the case of the senate, they reflect little more than a balance of forces.

In the Interior, the Votes of the Decided

The poll figures indicate that the decision in Bahia necessarily involves a veritable battle for the interior. In the capital, the opposition remains ahead. But the electorate of Salvador carries relatively very little weight: it represents only 15 percent of the vote potential of the interior of the state.

The 33.2 percent support figure that opposition candidate Roberto Santos has, projected on the basis of the almost 600,000 voters of the capital, would represent about 195,000 votes. With the current figure of 24.6 percent, Cleriston would get between 140,000 and 145,000 votes. The difference between

the two would be around 50,000 votes and, therefore, could be overcome with a hypothetical advantage of less than 2 percent, in the interior, for the government's candidate.

The figures for governor revealed by the poll for the two candidates with real possibilities are as follows: in the whole state, Cleriston defeats Santos by 31.2 percent to 23.7 percent; in the capital, Santos wins by 33.2 percent to 24.6 percent; in the interior, Cleriston wins again (32.6 to 21.8 percent).

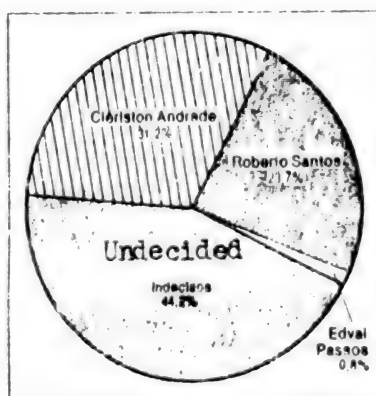
The current situation of the Waldir Pires-Luis Viana contest shows even more clearly the importance of a decision in the interior. In the capital, the PMDB candidate wins by 16.6 percent to 3.6 percent. In the interior, Luis Viana wins by 12.2 percent to 10.3 percent. And that is enough for him to be only 0.5 percent away from the PMDB candidate in the general figures.

Cleriston Loses Least With Linkage

The linkage of governor and state deputy proposed by IBOPE approaches the poll conditions to the real situation of the coming elections. And in the case of Bahia, it operates as a test which the PDS candidate passes with less damage than that suffered by the PMDB opponent for governor of the state. The invalidation of votes as a result of linkage does not exceed 6.9 percent for Cleriston and rises to 19 percent in the case of Roberto Santos.

| Candidates for Governor | Votes Without Linkage (%) | Votes With Linkage (%) |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Cleriston Andrade (PDS) | 31.2 | 29.1 |
| Roberto Santos (PMDB) | 23.7 | 19.2 |
| Edval Passos (PT) | 0.8 | 0.6 |

The Votes for Governor



Proportional Slate Weakens PMDB

Linkage of votes beginning with that for senator shows a relative weakness of the PMDB slate. In the first stage (only from senator to governor), Waldir Pires lost less (.7 percent) than Luis Viana (11.7 percent). With linkage extended down to federal deputy and state deputy, Pires obtained 17.5 percent invalid votes, 2.9 percent above the invalid figure for Luis Viana. Even so, the PMDB candidate maintains the lead.

| <u>Candidates for the Senate</u> | <u>Votes Without Linkage (%)</u> | <u>Votes With Linkage (%)</u> |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Luis Viana (PDS) | 10.3 | 8.8 |
| Waldir Pires (PMDB) | 10.8 | 8.9 |
| Sergio Guimaraes (PT) | 0.5 | 0.1 |

The Votes for the Senate



The Organization that Helps the Voter To Decide

To bring the undecided within the campaign is a problem that all the parties face in all the states. But in Bahia, the question has special angles. Only the PDS has a broad and polished organization. The government party has 311 elected mayors, plus the 12 in the national security area and the mayor of the capital. The 12 remaining mayoralty offices are the assets of the PMDB which, unlike the PDS, is not organized throughout the state.

That out-of-phase relationship in the degree of organization of the two parties results in the PDS having candidates for mayor and councilmen throughout the state; in about 40 municipalities, the PMDB will not run either for mayor or the municipal council. And the poll shows that the decision of the Bahia voters occurs at the following levels, in decreasing order: with reference to the candidate for governor (56.2 percent of decided votes); to the candidate for mayor (36.3 percent); to the candidate for councilman (35.3 percent). Then

come the candidates for senator (23.6 percent), for state deputy (15.9 percent) and for federal deputy (14.9 percent).

Consequently, it is the PDS that is in a better objective position to get the reserve of the undecided--a group that amounts to 44.2 percent when it comes to choosing the governor, but is still at the level of 78.3 percent with regard to the candidate for the senate.

The deficiency of its organization at the municipal level similarly tends to limit the possibilities of the PMDB when the voters face the real requirement of linkage--which goes down to councilman and not only down to state deputy.

With a more rudimentary organization, the PT succeeded in presenting candidates for mayor in only 46 municipalities, reducing even further the slight possibilities of its candidate for governor, Edval Passos. The PDT and PTB simply do not exist in Bahia.

For Deputy, the Lead Belongs to the PDS

Afrisio Vieira Lima, Prisco Vianna and Henrique Brito, all from the PDS, were the candidates for federal deputy most cited in the poll. The three reached the level of 0.8 percent.

Only those who obtained over 0.4 percent were included in this list [in order of preference]:

PDS: Afrisio Vieira Lima, Prisco Viana, Henrique Brito, Horacio de Matos, Jutahy Magalhaes Junior, Antonio Batista, Eraldo Tinoco Melo

PMDB: Francisco Pinto, Fernanco Gomes.

8711

CSO: 3001/232

HAVANA WARNS SOUTH AFRICA AGAINST ANGOLAN ATTACK

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 29 Aug 82 p 8

[Text]

● UNITED NATIONS (PL). — During a meeting of the Decolonization Committee, Cuba has warned that if South Africa undertakes a large-scale attack on Angola, Angolan and Cuban combatants will use every means at their disposal against the fascist racist South African mercenaries.

Speaking during the course of the debate on Namibia, Cuban delegate Miguel Álvarez reminded South Africa of the overwhelming defeat it had suffered in March 1976, when Angolan and Cuban combatants repulsed the aggression.

He said that due to the intransigence of the racists and their Western allies, particularly the United States, the Namibian people are unable to exercise their right to self-determination and independence guaranteed under General Assembly resolutions on decolonization.

He added that in view of the upsurge in the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of their vanguard, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Pretoria has increased its repression in Namibia and its attacks on Angola.

The Pretoria butchers would be unable to do this and ignore UN resolutions if they did not have the backing of the United States and its allies, the Cuban delegate affirmed, adding that the U.S. has used its veto to block Security Council action in clear contempt for the Namibian people and world consensus.

Álvarez refuted the false optimism of the U.S. government and the Western press regarding "a

peaceful and negotiated agreement" for Namibian independence. The Cuban delegate called these negotiations "fabricated optimism" and said a number of important questions regarding Namibian independence are still unresolved, while the racists continue to prepare an internal settlement that will give power to their puppets in the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

He also pointed out that South Africa and the United States want to link the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola.

Álvarez quoted the joint Angolan-Cuban declaration which says that Cuban troops will only leave Angola when there are no more indications of a South African invasion and when South African forces have withdrawn across the Orange River.

The Cuban delegate said that in view of South African violation of UN resolutions, the application of sanctions provided for in Chapter 7 of the Charter can no longer be put off.

The Cuban delegate also expressed support for the statement of the Organization of African Unity that any settlement on Namibia must be based on strict fulfillment of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

Finally, he saluted SWAPO's constructive stand, because both in the military struggle and in political negotiations it has pursued a resolute policy of true independence for Namibia, proving that it is the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people.


CSO: 3020/172

COMMENTATOR RIDICULES U.S. CBI PROGRAM

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 29 Aug 82 p 15

[Article by Oscar Ferrer]

[Text]

 THE SO-CALLED plan for economic assistance to the Caribbean, or the Caribbean Basin Initiative, or mini-Marshall plan — in other words, the new Yankee hoax announced by President Ronald Reagan at the OAS meeting in Washington on February 24 — is nothing but a poorly disguised attempt to obstruct the revolutionary changes that are taking place in Central America and the Caribbean by increasing the transfer of the region's wealth to the U.S. transnationals and the local oligarchy.

The flashy economic wrapping of the initiative, which fails to hide the political content, was displayed by Reagan in a speech loaded with all sorts of false charges against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada. He actually blamed those countries for the area's social, economic and political problems.

A study made recently by the Democratic Party's political committee in the Senate described the initiative as an easily identifiable mixture of the basic precepts of the Reagan administration: anticommunism, bilateral aid, private investment and the free market.

According to the study, Reagan's plan rests mainly on a position of confrontation. The committee also criticized the exclusion of "unfriendly" governments and a series of economic measures similar to those advocated by the International Monetary Fund.

When Reagan presented his plan five months ago, he let the cat out of the bag by asserting that his government would do anything that was proper and necessary to defend U.S. interests in the Caribbean.

The initiative for the Caribbean Basin is designed to turn the region into a gigantic Puerto Rico, a country with an alarming unemployment rate and the scene of the gradual dismantling of the industrial structure set up

at the end of World War II.

Reagan's plan portrays private investment as the panacea for all ills of the region, when the truth is that all it can accomplish is to increase the already disproportionate distribution of wealth in the area. For this reason, people are justly concerned.

With his deceptive initiative — which is most favorable to the capital-exporting monopolies — Reagan is trying to make people believe that private investment and assistance to the private sector would put an end to the great problems and the vast social differences that plague the people of Central America and the Caribbean.

Reagan's plan, rather than facilitating the development of the region, would only help maintain U.S. hegemony there. It also constitutes a new way of fostering a cold war climate by making participation in the struggle against the "communist threat" a prerequisite for granting economic assistance, and a maneuver designed to increase the U.S. transnationals' control over the area and support for the hard-pressed antipopular regimes.

The initiative has met with opposition in the U.S. Congress, where liberal legislators view it as a cover-up for greater military aid to El Salvador.

Reagan wants Congress to give the green light to a 350 million dollars of emergency aid money, more than 100 million of which would go to the Salvadoran regime.

The system that keeps the region in a state of dire poverty will remain the same unless basic structural changes are made. The purported "magic" of private investment will only contribute to the increase in the enormous social and economic differences that have stimulated the revolutionary process in Central America and the Caribbean.

REPORTS ON INTERNATIONAL REACTION TO SYMMS AMENDMENT

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 22 Aug 82 p 3

[Text]

● WASHINGTON, August 11 (PL). — The U.S. Senate today approved a resolution which advocates using all possible means available to the United States, including the sending of troops to counter an alleged Cuban threat to the hemisphere.

By a vote of 69-27, the Senate, where there is a Republican majority, approved the resolution which reflects the sense of Congress but has no legal force.

The resolution says that the United States is determined to prevent Cuba from creating or using a military capacity backed from abroad which will threaten the security of the United States.

It says the United States will act along with the Organization of American States and what it calls "freedom-loving Cubans" to contribute to the self-determination of the Cuban people.

It also added that Washington is determined to prevent by all necessary means (including the use of troops) an alleged Cuban attack on the Western Hemisphere.

The resolution was rejected by Republican Senator Charles Percy, who heads the Foreign Relations Committee. Percy tried to block the measure introduced by his colleague from Idaho, Steven Symms, saying that it gives the president of the United States the idea that he can use troops without Congressional approval.

Percy's counterresolution was voted down 52-47.

Then the Senate approved another resolution saying that the previous one does not constitute permission for use of U.S. armed forces, as provided for in the 1973 War Powers Act, which says that the president must obtain congressional approval for use of troops lasting more than 60 days.

VENEZUELA IN CLEAR OPPOSITION

CARACAS, August 13 (PL). — Venezuelan Foreign Minister José Alberto Zambrano Velasco stressed the opposition of his country to the U.S. Senate resolution advocating attacks on Cuba.

"Venezuela has a very clear position towards Cuba and Nicaragua," which was explained to President Reagan when Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campíns visited the United States, he said.

The chairman of the Foreign Relations Advisory Commission, José Rodríguez Iturbe, rejected use of the Monroe Doctrine by the Senate to justify its backing for an attack on Cuba.

"If there was any country in the recent fighting in the South Atlantic that ignored the letter and spirit of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, it was the United States.

"The Monroe Doctrine is dead and was buried from the moment the U.S. gave full backing to the attack of an extracontinental power against a Latin American country during the Malvinas crisis."

In his remarks to the daily El Nacional, Rodríguez added that "a joint Latin American position on the entire international scene has become increasingly necessary."

STATEMENTS BY HERRERA CAMPINS

CARACAS, August 13. — "We feel that the era of armed intervention should be a closed chapter in the unfortunate history of intervention in Latin America," said Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campíns to a group of Argentine journalists who asked about possible deployment of U.S. troops in Central America and particularly against Cuba.

During the conversation with the journalists on the occasion of the visit by Argentine Foreign Minister Juan Aguirre Lanari, the Venezuelan president, according to AFP news agency, said that the nations of Latin America should have a stronger, more powerful and militant presence in the OAS to curb colonialist appetites.

Regarding the Malvinas conflict he said it "caused a lot of thinking and made clear the need to revamp international relations after the British colonialists attacked Argentina for having pressed its rightful claims to the islands in the South Atlantic."

The Venezuelan president said he planned to visit Argentina "in the next few months, before December."

GREEN LIGHT FOR INTERVENTION

CARACAS, August 14 (PL). — The international affairs secretary of the Democratic Action Party, Enrique Tejera París, said that the resolution against Cuba approved by the U.S. Senate threatens the security of all nations in Central America and the Caribbean.

He said that the "unfortunate resolution" gives a green light for military intervention in the Caribbean and may lead to "another Vietnam in the region."

He added that the U.S. Senate has no right to interfere in countries which it views as hostile.

POSITION OF YANKEE SENATE CALLED HYPOCRITICAL

CARACAS, August 14 (TASS). — Venezuelan public opinion has reacted with indignation to the resolution approved by the U.S. Senate.

Deputy Américo Martín of New Alternative said that the U.S. Senate was "hypocritical to speak of the Monroe Doctrine and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance when it was guilty of violating both. The Monroe Doctrine and the ITRA have merely served to strengthen U.S. intervention in the region."

He added that the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America and all of Latin America reject U.S. dictates and have stepped up their struggle for full sovereignty and independence.

The Venezuelan-Cuban Friendship Association said that the Venezuelan people strongly condemn "this new and flagrant provocation by the United States which is another escalation of U.S. intervention in the affairs of Central American and Caribbean countries." The association said that the resolution was an effort to legalize attacks on Cuba and Nicaragua along with the backing that the Reagan administration gives to the dictatorships in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. Several legislators including Rómulo Henríquez, Siuberto Martínez and Alonso Ojeda of New Alternative, the People's Electoral Movement and the Communist Party of Venezuela also rejected the U.S. Senate resolution and agreed that it is part of the warlike and interventionist drive of the Reagan administration.

CONDEMNATION IN MEXICO AND NICARAGUA

● MANAGUA, August 14 (PL). — Nicaragua said the Symms Amendment, approved by the U.S. Senate, is an effort to pave the way for President Reagan to intervene in Central America.

This statement was made by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction.

He said that the resolution was in keeping with the worldwide aggressive stand of the United States and was aimed at enabling Reagan to proceed in Central America with the same impunity as in the Malvinas or Lebanon.

Daniel Ortega noted that in Central America "the situation is qualitatively different and the response to any action will be very different."

He noted that throughout the history of U.S. relations with Latin America such resolutions have been passed to justify U.S. armed intervention in Latin America.

MEXICO, August 12 (PL). — The Mexican Congress expressed concern over the U.S. Senate resolution advocating special measures to attack Cuba.

A resolution passed by the Standing Commission of the Congress states that "rather than ease them, the resolution will aggravate tensions in the Caribbean and Central America."

The Mexican resolution reads as follows: "The Standing Commission of the Congress of the United Mexican States publicly expresses grave concern over the resolution adopted yesterday by the U.S. Senate which authorizes the use of weapons and the presence of foreigners in a possible extreme situation in the Caribbean, because rather than ease them, the resolution will aggravate tensions in the Caribbean and Central America."

The United Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM) today condemned the U.S. Senate decision emphasizing that "President Ronald Reagan's aggressiveness could affect Nicaragua and other nations in the region as well as Cuba."

The PSUM urged the government of President José López Portillo to take action to prevent "this new attempt at aggression by the United States against Cuba."

The main Mexican dailies said that Washington's new escalation against Cuba is very dangerous to hemispheric peace.

The papers published front-page headlines with information on the contents of the Senate resolution threatening armed attacks on Cuba.

On its editorial page, *Excelsior* said the resolution is a clear victory for the policy of President Ronald Reagan which "encompasses all of Latin America in order to obstruct liberation movements in various parts of the region."

Uno más Uno said that the U.S. Congress has moved towards worsening the already tense situation in Central America and the Caribbean.

It said that U.S. legislators "spurred on by aggressive rhetoric from the White House want to return to the old days of the Big Stick which struck down blows right and left in Latin America."

In an editorial, *El Día* said that this time Cuba is the excuse but that the real target comprises not just the revolutionary island but the entire Caribbean and Central American region.

The editorial concluded by saying that "overly inclined towards comedy, the political leaders in Thomas Jefferson's homeland have forgotten that repeat performances of history are tragic for people with bad memories."

THE U.S. BRINGS THE MONROE DOCTRINE BACK TO LIFE

BOGOTA, August 14 (TASS). — The recent U.S. decision allowing that country's government to undertake military operations in the Caribbean turns the clock back a hundred and fifty years, reviving the Monroe Doctrine, and adds to the discredit of the Reagan administration on the international scene, former Colombian Foreign Minister Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa said in his column in the daily *El Espectador*.

The author mentioned some of the problems of the Reagan administration: "In the holocaust of Lebanon and the Palestinian people the United States bears a large share of the blame because of its policy of military aid to Israel." The Western European nations have made it clear that they won't be ruled like colonies of Uncle Sam on the issue of trade contracts with the Soviet Union. And unemployment in the United States stands at 9.8 percent of the work force.

In this framework the Senate has made matters worse by approving the ultrarightist measures of the Republican Party, said Vázquez Carrizosa.

U.S. POLICY HAS NO FUTURE

MOSCOW, August 14 (TASS). — The aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism against Cuba has no future. It is based on the fear of U.S. rulers over the growing liberation movement in Latin America, Sergei Balgarov stated in *Pravda* commenting on a U.S. Senate resolution which threatens Cuba.

"It is notable that all this 'legislative activity' is taking place in the midst of military preparations," said the author. In case of "unforeseen events," the Key West naval base which is located 150 kilometers from Cuba will be used. The anti-Cuban filth, entrenched in the United States, is again being used. According to the Senate resolution, it will be used by the Pentagon to promote the "self-determination of the Cuban people" or, in other words, to export counter-revolution to the island of freedom.

DANGEROUS MOVES BY THE WHITE HOUSE

PRAGUE, August 14 (PL). — The new threats by the United States against Cuba are actually an indication of Washington's reaction to the development of the national liberation movement in Central America, said the Slovak daily *Pravda*.

The organ of the Communist Party of Slovakia stated that approval of a resolution authorizing the U.S. president to resort to any measure

against the Cuban Revolution "will worsen the already difficult international situation."

ANTI-CUBAN AMENDMENT CONDEMNED BY BULGARIAN PRESS

SOFIA, August 14 (PL). — The Bulgarian mass media today condemned the anti-Cuban resolution approved by the U.S. Senate.

The daily *Narodna Mladost* noted that the resolution, which allows for use of military force against Cuba, shows that Washington's political clock has stopped.

The dailies *Rabotnichesko Delo* and *Narodna Armiya* reported in detail on the protests over the resolution in several Latin American countries.

CPUSTAL CALLS FOR GREATER SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA

MEXICO CITY, August 13 (PL). — The Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity of Latin American Workers (CPUSTAL) called for greater solidarity with Cuba in face of U.S. threats.

A statement by the CPUSTAL executive secretariat released here speaks of the "cynical and threatening statements by President Reagan and the amendment approved by the U.S. Senate which allows the chief executive to use force to counteract Cuban influence in the region."

It mentions the establishment of a Miami-based radio station "in order to interfere in Cuba's internal affairs and serve as a cover for criminal attack plans."

REAGAN'S PLAN IS MERELY ANOTHER COLD WAR TOOL

WASHINGTON, August 13 (PL). — The U.S. Senate resolution against Cuba shows that the Reagan administration's Caribbean plan is merely another cold war tool, a spokesman for the Council of Hemispheric Affairs (COHA) stated.

COHA, a nongovernmental human rights organization based in Washington, said that the approval of the Symms amendment in the framework of debate on the Caribbean plan "came as no surprise."

'L'HUMANITE' COMMENTARY

PARIS, August 13 (PL). — The French daily *L'Humanité* said that the resolution adopted by the U.S. Senate against Cuba will "allow the United States to use the armed forces as in Vietnam."

The paper added that the White House can resort to any excuse about alleged "Castroite activity" in Central America to call up its air and naval forces stationed in the Bahamas, the Lesser Antilles and especially Guantánamo, on Cuban territory itself.

REPORTAGE ON CONSTRUCTION WORKERS IN ETHIOPIA

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 22 Aug 82 p 12

[Article by Miguel Comellas]

[Text]



CUBAN CONSTRUCTION workers carrying out an internationalist task and working at an altitude of 2500 meters above sea level (Turquino Peak, the highest elevation in Cuba, measures 2040 meters), are building a cement plant in New Muger, in Shoa province, some 100 kilometers from Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. This is the first major industrial plant to be built abroad by Cuban workers.

This modern dry-process plant, which will be Ethiopia's largest cement factory, is scheduled for completion in 1984. Production will increase gradually, and by 1986 the plant should be turning out as much as 312 000 tons per year, almost double the combined amount produced by the three existing plants. The plant will cover a land area of 250 000 square meters.

Ground breaking was begun on October 22, 1980, and in April 1981, Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, president of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, visited the work site.

The plans for the project were developed by the firm SKET, of the German Democratic Republic, which also designed the Carlos Marx cement plant in Cienfuegos, Cuba. Engineer Gunter Hendrich, head of the team of German specialists, said, "The presence of the experienced Cuban workers guarantees the project's success." Hendrich became familiar with the Cubans' work because he was involved in the construction of the cement plant in Cienfuegos.

Ethiopia acquired the equipment for the construction and assembly of the new plant from several countries. The GDR sold the plans and the plant, and is providing technical assistance, while Cubans are supervising the civil construction and will start the rigging in September and also raise the stack and silos.

Some 400 Cubans will participate in the construction and assembly. Most will remain on

the job for at least two years, but several workers, chiefly technicians, professionals and skilled workers, will remain until the plant's completion. Many have been working on the project since ground breaking was begun. When Granma reporters visited the work site in mid-April, there were 33 Cubans, including three women.

Oscar Rodríguez Croissier, head of the construction and assembly brigade; Antonio Sanz Cruz, civil engineer; Julio H. Casanova Pérez, chief of technological assembly; and Humberto Velázquez Yera, chief technician — all members of the Caribe Union of Construction Enterprises (UNECA), Cuba's official agency for construction abroad — drew attention to "the importance given by the Cuban builders to the project and their awareness of the responsibility involved in their task."

Like many other projects carried out by Cubans in Ethiopia — of vast importance to that fraternal country's economic development — this project is making two particularly significant contributions. The first, and perhaps the most important, is the creation of jobs for thousands of people who live near the work site. Secondly, by working along with Cuban workers, these men and women are receiving technical training as equipment operators, welders, plumbers, masons, excavators, etc. Every Cuban and German worker we talked with said that he was greatly impressed by the way these people work, by their enthusiasm, desire to work hard and learn and their sense of discipline.

It is significant that hundreds of Ethiopian women, including highly-skilled workers, are participating in the construction of the cement plant and other projects in the area. Many of them are the first fruits of the tremendous revolutionary process that is bringing about a complete transformation throughout a country that only eight years ago was rated as one of the world's most backward.

On our way to the work site, our attention

was caught by the sight of the numerous social projects of the community which will house and provide services for the thousands of persons who will be working in New Muger. There were hundreds of dwellings, schools, a polyclinic, shopping center, etc., all projected and being built by Ethiopians.

The start-up of the plant and the needs of the residential area will require the installation of around 100 kilometers of power lines from the capital; the construction of a reservoir with a capacity of three million cubic meters; and a telephone line. All these projects will be handled jointly by Cuban and Ethiopian specialists and technicians.

The decision to build the cement plant in this area, to the northeast of Addis Ababa, was based on the presence of the main raw materials used in cement production — limestone, gypsum, clay, pumice, siliceous sand and others — in the vicinity.

The vast reserves of raw materials and the electric power and water supplies will permit expansion of the plant in the near future.

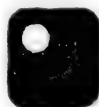
The results of the efforts and the consistent work done by the victorious Revolution since 1974 — dams, roads and highways, factories, schools, power plants — are becoming visible in the countryside, mountains, forests and semi-desert areas of this millenary nation. These and many other projects are gradually changing the face of a country once plagued by centuries-old backwardness, and are paving the way for future development.

COLOMBIA'S FORMER PRESIDENT TURBAY AYALA SCORED

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 22 Aug 82 p 15

[Article by Luis M. Saez]

[Text]



CONSERVATIVE BELISARIO Betancur Cuatras took over the office of president from liberal Julio César Turbay Ayala on August 7. But the scene in Colombia was not the typical one of sumptuous feasts, rivers of wine and latest fashions from Paris, London and New

York. The president is apparently attempting to impose a strict austerity program from the very first day — a measure sorely needed by this country, which is facing its worst economic crisis since World War II.

Betancur's election represents a desire for change from the past eight years of liberal government, especially from the last four, which have brought Colombia to the point of economic chaos, violence, submission to the interests of foreign capital and, to its greatest discredit, absolute obedience to the dictates of the White House in the realm of foreign policy.

Through his pro-imperialist and servile politics, Turbay Ayala has earned himself a privileged place in the garbage can of history. Few Latin American rulers who have proclaimed themselves democratic or liberal have been as submissive.

It is known how he slavishly participated in activities contrived by Washington against the Cuban Revolution. First he was involved in preventing Cuba from taking a seat in the UN Security Council.

Then, joining in with the Yankee isolationist policy against Cuba, he cut off diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba.

It is well known how, in response to the crisis of Central America, Turbay Ayala's government was prepared to take part in an armed intervention against Nicaragua and the Salvadoran patriots and that it supported the bloody junta in El Salvador by sending observers to the March 28 electoral farce.

It is also well known that in 1981, Turbay Ayala allied himself with the Zionists and imperialists in the Middle East by offering to send troops to Sinai.

During the Malvinas crisis, the alliance with Washington became even more obvious. Although Turbay Ayala's government claimed to recognize Argentina's right to sovereignty over the islands, it condemned Argentina's attempt to recover its territory, calling it armed aggression.

At the meeting to discuss the implementation of the Rio Treaty, held in Washington at the request of Argentina, Latin American countries denounced the Anglo-U.S. colonialist aggression. However, the Turbay Ayala government, together with the United States, abstained on two resolutions which condemned Great Britain and supported the Argentine cause.

When the Latin American Economic System met and set up an action committee to aid Argentina in order to counteract the economic aggression propagated by the United States, Canada and EEC member countries, Turbay Ayala's government not only refrained from joining but criticized the initiative.

For his unconditional slavish service to U.S. imperialism and his posture against the people of Latin America and the so-called Third World, Turbay Ayala deserves a very privileged place in the garbage can of history.

AALAPSO ISSUES TWO POSITION STATEMENTS

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 29 Aug 82 p 11

[Article by Rolando Meneses]

[Text]

● SINCE THE very moment of its foundation, the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL) has played a leading role in the peoples' struggle and has fought against domestic and foreign exploitation.

The OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat was established on May 31, 1966, in line with the resolutions of the historic Tricontinental Conference held in January of that same year in Havana. It set to work right away and has continued for more than 16 years.

Since that time, every struggle of the peoples of the world has received the solidarity and support of OSPAAAL in the form of seminars, conferences, meetings and more.

Recently OSPAAAL issued a statement commemorating the massacre of Japanese citizens at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as a result of atomic bombs dropped by the United States, and another expressing support for the recent 6th Summit Conference of Indochinese Foreign Ministers.

HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI

The OSPAAAL statement marking the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 8, 1945, says that "37 years after this heinous crime, which marked the start of a reckless and increasingly dangerous arms race, the world is living through a tense situation as a result of the insane and warmongering policy of Ronald Reagan and the efforts of the U.S. government to become policeman to the world. The U.S. government opposes all peace proposals formulated by forces in favor of détente and efforts made by people all over the world to achieve a climate which will make human progress possible.

"International repercussions of the atomic genocide by the U.S. government at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were of such magnitude and the condemnation by international public opinion was so great that they should have been sufficient to halt the manufacture of these deadly weapons, especially when the peoples of the world want to live in peace after having suffered the effects of such a cruel and bloody world war. However, the destructive power of nuclear weapons now stockpiled is enough to destroy humanity many times over.

"Today, all over the world there are growing numbers of sensible people who are raising their voices to say 'No' to nuclear arms buildups, 'No' to the neutron bombs, 'No' to MX missiles and 'No' to war."

After affirming its support for all steps towards nuclear disarmament, the OSPAAAL statement urges the peoples of the world to intensify their efforts for peace and progress.

INDOCHINESE AGREEMENTS

Another statement expresses full support for and solidarity with the results of the 6th Summit Conference of Indochinese Foreign Ministers, held in July in Ho Chi Minh City, Socialist Republic of Vietnam. In the conference, proposals reflecting favorable developments for the forces of peace and national independence in Laos, Kampuchea, Vietnam and other countries of Southeast Asia were formulated.

The proposals cover: a partial withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea in July 1982 (as was subsequently done); establishment of a buffer zone along the

border between Kampuchea and Thailand; in which only troops from those countries would be stationed; the signing of a treaty of peace and nonaggression between Vietnam and China; the convening of an international conference on Southeast Asia attended by the Indochinese and ASEAN countries, in addition to Burma, Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, India and the UN Secretary General.

In its statement OSPAAAL says that these proposals — along with the demand of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to the UN to rescind its recognition of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary puppets, without this constituting a *de facto* admission to the UN of the current and legitimate government of the Kampuchean people — show the flexibility of the Indochinese countries, aimed at the establishment of a climate of *détente* and peace in Southeast Asia.

The document highly values this proposal by the nations of Indochina, at a time of grave international tension caused by imperialist and reactionary forces under the leadership of the United States. Specific examples of this are the criminal imperialist-Zionist attack on the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples; the flagrant intervention by the United States in El Salvador; the colonial war in the Malvinas; the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa; the intensification of apartheid; and the aggressive, arrogant policy of blackmail and threats by the Reagan administration against the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The OSPAAAL statement adds that in the midst of this turmoil-ridden situation facing humanity, the initiatives made by the three Indochinese nations are a unique example of goodwill displayed by the governments of Laos, Vietnam and Kampuchea, in order to reduce tension in the area and find a solution that will lead to peace and stability in the region.

Finally, in addition to reaffirming its support for the above-mentioned proposals, it urged governments, peoples and countries, organizations and agencies all over the world to firmly support the notable proposals of the Indochinese countries because their implementation will be a significant contribution to peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

MATANZAS UNIVERSITY CENTER DEVELOPMENT DESCRIBED

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 22 Aug 82 p 16

[Article by Enrique Mesa]

[Text]



FOR THE last ten years, there has been constant development in Matanzas province's system of higher education. Particularly outstanding have been the efforts of Party members, workers and students at the Camilo Cienfuegos University Center in that province.

Strong revolutionary organizations have been established at the school. Teachers and nonteaching staff are organized into 13 trade union sections; the Federation of University Students (FEU) has a total of 85 brigades there; and the Young Communist League (UJC) has 1400 members in the school, divided into 73 rank-and-file organizations.

Eighteen percent of all the workers at the school are Party members, and the number of members is almost three times as much as four years ago. The Party committee has eight nuclei covering all areas of work.

Diosdado Abréu Falcón, general secretary of the Party committee, told us, "We feel that the rank-and-file organizations here are very strong, not just because of the number of members but also because of the cohesion existing within them and the daily work of the leaders of the union, the student organization and the UJC, all of whom are always open to the requests of the nuclei and any tasks the Revolution may ask of them."

An important tool in the work of the Party are the guidelines concerning centers of higher education put out by the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Diosdado says that these guidelines serve as "a compass" for Party work at the Camilo Cienfuegos University Center.

"These guidelines identify our primary task as the communist education of the professionals coming out of the universities," he continued, "and that is, in short, the objective of Party work here."

The Camilo Cienfuegos center, the only such center in Matanzas province, has become an extremely important educational institution. In the 1975-80 five-year period, almost 2000 students received bachelor of arts and engineering degrees, and around 480 graduated this year. Current enrollment is over 4000, including full-time students and workers taking classes. The teaching and research staff numbers over 300, of whom more than 30 are also studying for degrees in science.

The Party nuclei have the responsibility of monitoring the progress of programs, classes and learning, with particular emphasis on the social sciences included in the curriculum.

An event which has been attracting more and more interest at the school is the annual Marxism-Leninism competition, in which students present papers on subjects related to the social sciences. This event is open to all students, regardless of their major.

Another vital job of the Party which relates directly to the students, especially in their first year at the university, is the selection of guidance counselors, who must be approved by the Party nuclei. Guidance counselors for first- and second-year students have an important responsibility and being chosen for that post is a recognition of that professor's merits on the part of his or her fellow workers.

THE HOMELAND AND ITS DEFENSE

The military preparedness of the students is also integrally analyzed at the university center by the Party and the rank-and-file organizations of the UJC and the FEU. This is a reflection of the care taken to develop a patriotic military consciousness among the student body.

In connection with this, Diosdado had this to say:

"The Military Department which is supervised by a Party nucleus has been in existence since the founding of the University Center in 1976. The work of the Department is regarded as highly satisfactory both by the Ministry of Higher Education and the General Staff of the Central Army. In addition, since 1979 we have had rank-and-file organizations belonging to the Society for Patriotic and Military Education whose work in the fields of sports and military activities is encouraging."

With undisguised revolutionary pride Dlosado told us about a recent meeting which was called to assess the interest that senior students of various specializations had in joining the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) after graduation. All of the over 100 students indicated their willingness to join the FAR after graduating from the University Center.

Both socialist emulation and voluntary work programs are areas where the Party and its members carry on continuous work.

The Party nuclei supervise the work of the FEU, the union and the UJC in the implementation of the emulation program. Dlosado frankly admitted that there was a time when the emulation program was carried out sporadically and for short periods of time,

usually in anticipation of an evaluation. But this has been overcome and the emulation program has been continuously improving. It now involves special mini-programs aimed at obtaining specific results coordinated with commemorations and special events.

Special mention should be made of the voluntary work done by teachers, students and workers in adapting and remodeling the institution's facilities which had originally belonged to the Camilo Cienfuegos Military School. Other projects that have been completed through extensive voluntary work programs have included the buildings used as dormitories for the scholarship holders, many classrooms, new sidewalks, parks, streets and green areas surrounding the institution. The Camilo Cienfuegos University Center is invariably always represented in the sugar harvest and other agricultural tasks requested by the municipality.

A book could not hold all that could be written about this center. Briefly stated, the good work of the Party can be seen everywhere, providing many promising students a wealth of experience with which they can move forward. The balance of these first ten years of higher education in Maranzas province points to a long and fruitful life for the University Center, the militant Party members, the Young Communist League, the trade union and the Federation of University Students.

POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL NATURE OF SEX EDUCATION NOTED

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 22 Aug 82 p 9

[Article by Monika Krause]

[Text] SEX EDUCATION in our society consists of preparing our young generations for such experiences as love, marriage and the raising of a family. It must form part of the overall education of every person in our socialist society and includes acquiring the knowledge and the skills that family life demands of every individual. It encompasses the management of domestic affairs; the education and care of children; and the social, legal, biological, psychological dimensions related to the couple and the family--all in keeping with the principles of our socialist morality, which is based on the elimination of exploitation of man by man, respect for others, and equal rights and duties for men and women.

Therefore, sex education is much more than lessons on the process of human reproduction and the anatomy and physiology of the male and female genital organs. This is only an aspect--and indeed not the most important one--of sex education. Nor is the advice given young people prior to their marriage to be taken as sex education.

The parameters mentioned above require that sex education involve the participation of all society and, at the same time, demand great responsibility on the part of parents, since the sexual relations, marriages and families of our young people will reflect the experiences of their own family life.

A study of the life and habits of stable, happy families will reveal that the reason for their satisfaction and happiness is not to be found in their having attended some course or lecture on sexuality, but rather in the fact that their relationship is based on mutual love, respect, consideration, solidarity and mutual friendship.

Hence, sex education, in the broadest sense of the term, should be designed to prepare young generations to be able to develop stable, lasting and happy marriage relationships, and to educate their children on the basis of socialist principles. This calls for the development of feelings, of the capacity to feel love and to give love and understanding, and the awareness of the responsibility involved. We want to educate our children in such a way that

they will develop the highest concepts about the meaning of the family and about the role that they should play in it, so that they can make an educated selection of their mate.

In this sense, the joint efforts of the family, the teachers, the Pioneer and youth organizations, the Federation of Cuban Women and other mass organizations--in a nutshell, of society as a whole--are aimed at developing in each young person the correct concepts in regard to the opposite sex so that his best efforts will make love a motive force behind the harmonious development of the communist personality.

As has been so aptly pointed out, the school is a second home for children, adolescents and youngsters, a place for different kinds of emotional relations that significantly influence their personality development. Teachers must continually prepare themselves to play their role in this regard.

Now that the meaning of the term sex education has been established, let us take up the question of the 'politico-ideological character of sex education.

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution brought about a radical change in the relations of production. The society based on the exploitation of man by man was eradicated and we began the construction of a new society, a socialist society.

However, in a revolutionary process, all these changes are not simultaneously accompanied by changes in the habits, customs, moral concepts and practices within the framework of the couple and the family's human relations. In no other sphere of human life are prejudices, taboos, ignorance, patterns of bourgeois morality and other remnants of class society so deeply rooted.

In his famous conversations with Clara Zetkin, found in Lenin's *The Emancipation of Women*, this situation is described as follows:

"In the atmosphere created by the aftermath of war and by the revolution... old ideological values...perish, and lose their restraining force. New values crystallize slowly, in the struggle.... It is a slow and often very painful process of passing away and coming into being. All this applies also to the field of sexual relations, marriage, and the family. The decay, putrescence and filth of bourgeois marriage...its license for the husband and bondage for the wife, and its disgustingly false sex morality and relations fill the best and most spiritually active of people with the utmost loathing.

"The coercion of bourgeois marriage and bourgeois legislation on the family enhance the evil and aggravate the conflicts. It is the coercion of 'sacrosanct' property. It sanctifies venality, baseness, and dirt.... People revolt against the prevailing abominations and perversions. And at a time when mighty nations are being destroyed, when the former power relations are being disrupted, when a whole social world is beginning to decline, the sensations of the individual undergo a rapid change. A stimulating thirst for different forms of enjoyment easily acquires an irresistible force. Sexual and marriage reforms in the bourgeois sense will not do. In the sphere of sexual relations

and marriage, a revolution is approaching--in keeping with the proletarian revolution. Of course, women and young people are taking a deep interest in the complex tangle of problems which have arisen as a result of this. Both the former and the latter suffer greatly from the present messy state of sex relations."

These words of Lenin sum up the characteristics of intimate relations in the midst of the profound revolutionary structural changes that took place in czarist Russia.

Lenin went on to describe the situation faced by the people after the collapse of the corrupt system of exploitation when, amidst all these changes, a search is begun for the moral values that would eventually govern intimate relations in our socialist society:

"Many people call it 'revolutionary' and 'communist.' They sincerely believe that this is so...this so-called 'new sex life' of young people--and frequently of the adults too--seems to me purely bourgeois and simply an extension of the good old bourgeois brothel. All this has nothing in common with free love as we Communists understand it. No doubt you have heard about the famous theory that in communist society satisfying sexual desire and the craving for love is as simple and trivial as drinking a glass of water.' A section of our youth has gone mad, absolutely mad, over this 'glass-of-water theory'Its devotees assert that it is a Marxist theory.... I consider the famous 'glass-of-water' theory as completely un-Marxist and, moreover, as antisocial. It is not only what nature has given but also what has become culture, whether of a high or low level, that comes into play in sexual life.... To be sure, thirst has to be quenched. But would a normal person normally lie down in the gutter and drink from a puddle? Or even from a glass whose edge has been greased by many lips. But the social aspect is more important than anything else. The drinking of water is really an individual matter. But it takes two people to make love, and a third person, a new life, is likely to come into being. This deed has a social complexion and constitutes a duty to the community."

Thus conclude our 'quotes from the conversation between Lenin and Clara Zetkin. All that has been said demonstrates that we must prepare our people to make reasonable use, in this sense, of the freedom won with the triumph of the Revolution, so that free love--so often misinterpreted--may develop with a sense of responsibility within the framework of the couple's relationship.

The socialist society creates the conditions for the freest, highest sexual moral standards ever known to mankind. In the socialist society there's no longer a basis for the existence of women's subordination and the taboos and prejudices that belong to the past, or for the dogma that limits sex to procreation and considers it a sin for sex to be used as a source of happiness and pleasure for the human couple.

In the socialist society, men and women enjoy the same sexual freedom and love is the determining factor in sexual and family morality. Socialism creates the conditions that make possible the elimination of marriage for economic or social advantage and relationships ruled by pressure and dependency. This

leads to the elimination of woman's status as slave, docile servant and passive partner in intimate relations.

From a psychological and physiological standpoint, this freedom from the shackles that once bound women offers countless benefits to the couple. But it also represents much more in regard to human relations. The resulting comradeship and mutual understanding constitute the very essence of happiness.

Free love means not only love free of economic and social pressure, but also the freedom to decide.

Frederick Engels said that free will means simply the ability to make a knowledgeable decision. We must have factual knowledge--in this case sex education in all its aspects; biological, ideological and moral--so that every young person will be able to act with full responsibility.

Free love does not mean giving free rein to animal impulses, to change partners endlessly. Free love implies responsibility and respect and must not be confused with sexual promiscuity. Wild sexual relations have nothing to do with love responsibility, respect and consideration.

However, we see--as Lenin did in his time--that the concept and the practice of the bourgeois double standard persists in many persons, even though we have achieved our long-cherished freedom and have freed ourselves from the shackles of the past, and even though our laws categorically condemn the discrimination of women. What we commonly call machismo or outdated habits and customs are essentially dangerous remnants of bourgeois society, since perpetuating such concepts and, what's even worse, observing the bourgeois double standard imply lowering the status of women, reducing them to second-class citizens. Men have enjoyed certain privileges for generations thanks to this situation of women's subordination, and they want to maintain these rights and these privileges in the same way that a bourgeois owner wants to hold on to his property. Therefore, the existence of such manifestations of the bourgeois double standard in many men means that these men are still utilizing concepts similar to those of the bourgeois property owner; it means that we must work patiently and persistently, appealing to those men's consciences, to put an end to such concepts and practices, not only in words but in real life. And if we are to achieve this, we must continue our systematic political and ideological work.

There are also women who tolerate such a state of affairs because of ignorance, because their lack of knowledge about sex leads them to believe that nature has made the sexual urge stronger in men than in women. This mistaken idea implies that these women are not fully aware that they are actually discriminating against themselves.

We must carry on work to provide information, guidance and politico-ideological education that will enable our young generations to enjoy a happy married life and raise a happy family. We are aware that changes in a social system do not automatically bring about changes in concepts, attitude and behavior. And before we try to educate our children, we must start with ourselves, with

Parents, teachers, doctors, psychologists, jurists and the leaders--all of us who in one way or another are responsible for the education of our new generations. For their sake, we must make examples of our own lives; therefore we must first learn these three things:

--how to include sex education in the integral process of socialist education, removing the veil of mystery, prohibition and strangeness that now surrounds it;

--how to get rid of any remnants of bourgeois ideology that may remain in our mind, through a process of open, honest self-criticism; and

--how to make our young people into not only good workers but also good husbands and wives, good fathers and mothers.

CSO: 3020/174

GOVERNMENT ISSUES STATE COUNCIL STATUTE

Guatemala DIARIO DE CENTRO AMERICA in Spanish 18 Aug 82 p 2

[Text] Yesterday, the government of the republic issued Decree Law No 65-82 covering norms which regulate the creation, composition and operation of the State Council and establishing it as an advisory organization whose function is to study and offer solutions to the various problems inherent in the social, economic and political development of the nation. The following is the complete text of the decree:

Decree Law No 65082

The President of the Republic,

Whereas:

To carry out the aims and objectives assigned to the Executive Organization by the Fundamental Governmental Statute, it is essential to establish and compose, with capable, suitable and honorable citizens, a State Council in the nature of an advisory organization whose function is to study and offer solutions to the various problems inherent in the social, economic and political development of the nation;

Whereas;

The State Council must conform to the country's most representative sectors, and in view of the fact that there is no existing legislation relating to this subject, it is necessary to promulgate norms regulating the creation, composition and operation of said council,

Now therefore,

In exercising the powers conferred by Articles 4 and 29 of the Fundamental Governmental Statute, modified by Decree Law No 36-82,

In the Council of Ministers

Decrees:

The following:

Statute of the State Council

Article 1. Creation. A State Council is being established as an advisory body to the Government of the Republic.

Article 2. Composition. The State Council is made up in the following manner:

- a) Five councilors appointed by the Executive Organization;
- b) One councilor appointed by the Judicial Organization;
- c) One councilor appointed by the University of San Carlos of Guatemala;
- d) One councilor appointed with common accord by legally established private universities;
- e) One councilor for each of the following sectors:

Agriculture, industry, commerce and private banking, appointed by their respective organizations;

- f) One councilor for each of the following political parties:

Nationalist Authentic Central Party, Guatemalan Christian Democracy, United Revolutionary Front, National Liberation Movement and National Renewal Party.

The appointment of said councilors will be made by the respective organizations to which they belong in accordance with the internal norms which govern each party;

- g) One councilor for city workers and another for rural workers, appointed by the board of directors of legally inscribed unions;
- h) One councilor appointed by the board of directors of the National Association of Municipalities, who must be approved by its closest national assembly;
- i) One councilor elect among the directors of the national federations of cooperatives;
- j) One councilor appointed by the rectors of the professional schools, recognized by the University of San Carlos of Guatemala;
- k) One councilor appointed with common agreement by the Guatemalan press organizations which have legally recognized juridical status;
- l) One councilor appointed with common accord by Guatemalan women's associations and organizations which operate with legally recognized juridical status;
- m) Ten councilors appointed by the country's majority ethnic groups, of native race.

Article 3. Substitutes. Simultaneously with the councilors, a substitute will be appointed for each regular councilor. The substitutes will replace the regular councilors in case of temporary absence, illness or other extenuating circumstance, in which case they will receive the same per diem as those they are replacing.

Article 4. Increase in representations. Through this decree law, the President of the Republic may increase the sectors which are represented in the council, as well as the number of councilors.

Article 5. Time allowed to make the appointments. The institutions, entities and sectors being represented in the council must appoint the representatives and report this in legal form to the Secretariat General of the Presidency of the Republic within 15 days from the time this decree law becomes effective. If this provision is not carried out, the President of the Republic will make the appointment in question by government resolution.

Article 6. Qualifications. State councilors must be Guatemalan natives as defined in Article 9 of the Fundamental Governmental Statute, at least 30 years of age, and of recognized honorability and capability.

Article 7. Ineligibilities. The following may not be appointed as councilors:

1. Officials or employees of state organizations or of decentralized autonomous and semiautonomous groups, and any others of similar nature employed in a public function and in municipalities;
2. Relatives, including those having a fourth-level blood relationship or a second-level marriage relationship, of the President of the Republic, the President of the Supreme Court of Justice, the ministers and secretaries of state;
3. Contractors of public projects or firms which are paid with state funds, of decentralized autonomous or semiautonomous groups or any others of similar nature employed in a public and municipal function, their bondsmen and any who may have complaints pending with regard to said business affairs;
4. Those representing or defending the interests of individual companies or persons who are operating public services and plants specializing in alcoholic or fermented beverages.

When any councilor turns out to be included in any of the ineligibilities covered by this article, the position will be considered vacant; but if he is among those included in paragraph 1, he may choose another position.

Article 8. Organization. The plenary session of the State Council is its maximum authority, and its quorum consists of two-thirds of its official members or substitutes replacing those members; its decisions will be subject to an absolute majority of the councilors present. In case of a tie, the president will have a double vote.

With government accord, the President of the Republic will appoint the chairman and vice chairman of the State Council from among the councilors he appoints.

The vice chairman will replace the president in case of temporary absence, illness or other extenuating circumstance.

The regular committee will be composed of: The chairman, vice chairman and three councilors appointed by the plenary session of the council. It is the plenary session's responsibility to form the committees it deems necessary. The following are to function in an obligatory and permanent manner:

- a) National Policy Committee;
- b) National Development Committee.

The by-laws of their internal administration will govern everything relating to the committees.

Article 9. Compensation. Verified attendance of the councilors to plenary sessions or committee meetings will be compensated by per diem amounts in accordance with a budget approved by the Ministry of Finance. The per diems may not exceed three per week for sessions or committee meetings per councilor and will be paid for at 50 quetzals per payment. However, the councilor may attend other sessions in addition to those provided for in this article for honorary purposes.

Article 10. Functions. The State Council has the following functions:

- a) Present for consideration by the President of the Republic solutions which it considers pertinent to the problems of the country's social, economic, institutional and political development;
- b) Offer opinions on proposed bills and other subjects which, due to their nature or importance, are submitted to the council for its judgment;
- c) Analyze projects formulated by the President of the Republic and prepare bills as requested by that official;
- d) Accept or reject the resignations of its members, except those of its chairman or vice chairman, which will be decided upon by the President of the Republic; and
- e) Prepare its own by-laws, which will be approved by government accord.

Article 11. Means of communication. The channel of communication between the government and State Council is the Secretariat General of the Presidency of the Republic.

Article 12. Replacement and bad conduct. In case of a resignation accepted by the plenary session, death or absolute inadequacy of a councilor, the chairman of the council will communicate this to the Secretariat General of the Presidency of the Republic for the purpose of appointing a substitute, which will be done in accordance with Article 2 of this decree, pertaining to composition.

In case of criminal activity, bad conduct or negligence in the performance of the duties of a councilor, except for the chairman and vice chairman, the council's plenary session, with a vote of two-thirds of its members, will be empowered to decide the respective removal and will communicate this to the Secretariat General of the Presidency of the Republic so that he may proceed to appoint a substitute as provided for in Article 2 of this decree.

Article 13. General provisions:

- a) State councilors may exercise their respective professions, and, moreover, the position of state councilor is compatible with the carrying out of diplomatic missions--temporary or special--and with the representation of the republic in international congresses.
- b) All employees of the state and of decentralized groups--autonomous or semi-autonomous--must furnish any data, information or documents requested by the council and required for dealing with subjects within their jurisdiction.
- c) The secretary general of the council will be appointed by the President of the Republic. The president will also appoint other administrative personnel as proposed by the council.

Article 14. Temporary provisions:

- a) The State Council will be installed on 15 September 1982, and its subsequent operation will extend from 1 January through 31 December of each year for budgetary purposes, and an annual report of its work will be submitted to the President of the Republic. The same top official will administer the oath of office to the councilors and install them in their respective offices;
- b) The State Council will decide when a representative from each of the following political parties will have to be taken in as a member of the council: The Revolutionary Party, Democratic Institutional Party and National Unity Front; this procedure will be in keeping with the provisions of Article 4 of this decree;
- c) The Ministry of Public Finance will make the monetary transfers requested by the council for this year and will provide the necessary funds for the next fiscal period.

For subsequent fiscal periods, the council itself will prepare its budget for approval by the administration;

- d) Although the State Council has its own premises, it will conduct its operations at the facilities of the Congress of the Republic;

e) To appoint their representatives, both the political parties and the organizations whose operations were suspended by virtue of the provisions of the state of siege may hold whatever meetings are necessary, upon previously notifying the Secretariat General of the Presidency of the Republic.

Article 15. Date decree is to become effective. This decree law will become effective on the day following its publication in the DIARIO OFICIAL.

Submitted at the National Palace in Guatemala on 17 August 1982.

To be published and enforced.

Brigadier General Jose Efrain Rios Montt; Col Manuel Giron T Sanchez, secretary general of the Presidency of the Republic; Agricultural Engineer Leopoldo Sandoval Villeda, minister of agriculture, cattle raising and nutrition; and Colonel and Engineer Edgar Leonel Ortega Rivas, minister of communications and public works.

8568

CSO: 3010/2259

BRIEFS

FARMING COMMUNITIES SETTLE DEBT--Almost half a million quetzals was paid by the joint-owner farmers for 12 former national farms which were turned over to them under the title of collective agrarian property in the interior of the country. Vitalino Ochoa Alvarez, chairman of the community of San Andres Osuna, gave a check in the amount of 487,057 quetzals to Col Mauricio Izquierdo Gudiel, president of the National Agrarian Transformation Institute (INTA), and he, in turn, presented it to Salvador Toledo Moran, general manager of BANDESA [General Development Bank]. In this manner, it was explained, the farmers paid off the marketing debt for which the agricultural communities had received credit in the amount of 4.5 million quetzals. During the ceremony, held at the Department for the Overall Development of Agrarian Communities, the farmers received the profits they had earned through the marketing of their agricultural products; this amounted to 101,092.61 quetzals for the community of San Andres Osuna and 13,398.95 quetzals for Candelaria Xolhuitz, and it was estimated that a total of more than 1,000 families were benefited. Both Toledo Moran and Col Izquierdo Gudiel strongly emphasized that Gen Rios Montt's administration will continue to provide aid to communities which have become the proprietors of lands which they are cultivating to further national production. [Text] [Guatemala DIARIO DE CENTRO AMERICA in Spanish 16 Aug 82 p 6] 8568

MEXICAN GAS IMPORTS--Based on an agreement signed with PEMEX, the government sector has become the sole importer of propane gas in our country. [Text] [PA091803 Guatemala City Radio-Television Guatemala in Spanish 0400 GMT 8 Sep 82]

OIL, GAS FIND--A mining official today disclosed that two oil and gas deposits have been discovered in the area of (Chise), Alta Verapaz. He said tests made at the (Chise) well revealed only 30,000 cubic meters of gas, but that the importance of this is that there is now evidence of the existence of gas in Guatemala. [Text] [PA091803 Guatemala City Radio-Television Guatemala in Spanish 0400 GMT 8 Sep 82]

CANADIAN ECONOMIC AID--A second batch of checks, worth more than 36,800 quetzales, was received from the Canadian Embassy in Guatemala City on 21 August as part of that country's economic aid program for Guatemalan development. Dean J. Browne, the Canadian Embassy's charge d'affaires, delivered the checks. The money will be used for electrification of small villages, the construction of children's parks, schools and several bridges. [Text] [PA081746 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 22 Aug 82 p 6]

FORMER OFFICIALS ORDERED ARRESTED--A Tribunal in Coban, Alta Verapaz, has decided to order the arrest of former Congress President Salvador Polanco Ramirez, who, along with former President Gen Fernando Romeo Lucas Garcia and (Salvador Flores Salam), former private secretary of the presidency, is being investigated by the Coban tribunal on charges of embezzlement. The three allegedly used gasoline taken from a hydroelectric plant for their farm machinery. [Text] [PA091515 Guatemala City Radio-Television Guatemala in Spanish 0400 GMT 7 Sep 82]

CSO: 3010/2346

COLONEL DIAZ HERRERA ADDRESSES PRD GATHERING

PA190910 Panama City CRITICA in Spanish 18 Sep 82 p 16

["Text" of speech by Col Roberto Diaz Herrera, G-3 of the general staff of the Panamanian national guard, given "on behalf of" Brig Gen Ruben Dario Paredes, commander in chief of the national guard, and the national guard general staff before a meeting of the National Directorate of the Democratic Revolutionary Party on 17 September at Rio Hato military base]

[Text] Distinguished board of directors, political committee and PRD leaders; ladies and gentlemen present at this national-level PRD meeting: During this historic meeting that has gathered you here today, we, civilians and military, first of all have to invoke the permanent spiritual presence of a man whose name is recorded in this Rio Hato military base and throughout the national territory, Gen Omar Torrijos Herrera. (applause)

We feel his presence here today. It goes beyond those memories brought back by the historic photographs we find all over this base.

We are here today to bring a special, fraternal and affectionate greeting from Gen Ruben Dario Paredes, who asks that you forgive him for not being here today; but he has sent us to express to you categorically that the PRD is a Torrijist party and that the national guard is also Torrijist. (lengthy applause)

Because of a simple equation--beyond mathematical equations: a spiritual and political equation--the PRD and the national guard will always be allies and friends on this road for the benefit of the fatherland.

Torrijos left a military as well as a civilian seedbed, well sown and watered, and the two seedbeds must grow and bear fruit and bear it well, with good fruit.

Torrijos also taught us to join [sumar], and these lines--and I want to be very clear regarding this--are the lines that General Paredes, his general staff and the armed institute follow. (applause)

There are strategic and tactical situations. There are macro and micro situations. The two must be understood and gradually assimilated by you. You have the political capacity to understand it.

It may be possible that some of these situations are at times not properly dealt with for lack of time to analyze them with the many Torrijist workers active within the process, but this is a good time to outline and explain some of these things in general terms.

I repeat, the actions for the benefit of national unity are not always well directed, but you must be absolutely sure that there is no treachery, that here there are no sell-outs; we are only seeking to reconstruct a country that faces a destiny that each day grows more problematic and complex.

You must trust us in that what we seek, together with President de la Espriella, and within the military who are guided and led by General Paredes, is to join and strengthen the forces of the process.

I know that there are some things that worry you. Let us mention some of these. The constitutional reforms, in our opinion--and our opinion reflects General Paredes' and his general staff's opinion--will never be directed toward beholding the substantial gains achieved by the process. [lengthy applause]

However, we believe that an adjustment of the best political conditions should be allowed in a Panama that is changing and dynamic. General Torrijos many times reminded and told us: "Things cannot always remain static. The lines traced are not permanent lines. Countries change and some of their 'lines' must change." We also recall him saying: "Some things that were good yesterday may not be so good tomorrow, and they will have to be changed." But that is something else, and we are not trying to cause our own self-destruction within the friendly forces of the process.

Regarding our international relations, we must consider that General Torrijos kept his word of leaving us a written and defined calendar in our claim of the most meaningful thing in the country: sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

With all the limitations that he accepted, and in view of the great challenge that this treaty meant, we should protect our foreign relations to achieve our objectives of having the whole national territory in Panamanian hands in the year 2,000, free of foreign power, free of anyone. (applause)

Although we understand President de la Espirella's rapprochement with the professional sector who are not yet members of the PRD, we hope that the national government led by him--and he is playing a magnificent role in the development of this country--will steer them first of all toward Torrijos' guidelines, and also that he will never sideline the valuable national, regional and local leaders who are responsible for the first steps of this process. Let them not be put aside. (applause)

Within this conceptual, general and very global framework, our intention was to bring you a greeting of solidarity from General Paredes, his general staff and the 10,000 militarymen. We learned over 10 years ago to see in you the friendly faces we always greet with affection, and we are sure that confusion and misunderstanding will never be able to divide us. We will continue being

allies until we achieve in Panama a Torrijist process that will follow the best guidelines he left us. There are many things to develop and much to learn because his political catechism has many untouched aspects. We still have a doctrine in Panama to last us many years, for generations beyond ours.

CSO: 3010/2347

COUNTRY SECTION

PANAMA

CONEP CONGRATULATES GENERAL PAREDES ON CONFIRMATION

PA180601 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 16 Sep 82 pp 1-A, 12-A

[Text of 8 September letter from Dulcidio Gonzalez N., president of the National Council of Private Enterprise, to Brig Gen Ruben Dario Paredes, commander in chief of the Panamanian national guard]

[Text] 8 September 1982

Gen Ruben D. Paredes,
Commander of the National Guard
Panama, Republic of Panama

General:

The National Council of Private Enterprise [CONEP], in congratulating you on your confirmation as commander of the national guard, wishes to express its great pleasure because:

1. The national guard general staff stated in its request to the president of the republic that it was their wish that you continue as commander of the national guard.
2. His excellency the president of the republic responded to the request of the general staff by confirming you.

These two facts confirm the success of your work as commander of the national guard.

General, Panamanian businessmen are convinced that what we have stated is just a small expression of recognition for you. We take advantage of this opportunity to state that your suggestions for the modification of the housing law and the labor code and for constitutional reforms will lead us in the near future to establish tranquillity in the nation, which we believe is very necessary and proper, because only by corrective measures will we achieve the political and economic development that we need so much to give the people of Panama the necessary means for the worthy existence that all men deserve.

With respect, we remain,
Sincerely yours,
National Council of Private Enterprise
Dulcidio Gonzalez N., President

CSO: 3010/2347

CONEP CRITICIZES MEXICAN BANK NATIONALIZATION

PA180041 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 15 Sep 82 P C-14

[Communique issued by the National Council of Private Enterprise in Panama City on 13 September]

[Text] The National Council of Private Enterprise [CONEP] views with justified concern the measures taken by the Mexican Government which seriously affected the present and future of Mexican private enterprise and which have potentially serious consequences for the economic and political stability of the countries of the Central American isthmus and the Caribbean basin as well as the United States.

That is why the recent nationalization of the private banks in the brother Aztec country calls for deep thought from all of us who have well-founded hopes in the free enterprise system as the most adequate means to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of human beings in an atmosphere of freedom and respect for their dignity, principles and aspirations.

Experience shows that irresponsible governments, regardless of the ideology behind which they hide, try to justify their mistakes and failures in solving economic problems by attacking private enterprise, and when they rashly nationalize and expropriate private activity they only make the situation worse. This generally leads to the violation of the rights of citizens and the establishment of dictatorial regimes.

Therefore, we issue a call to the democratic, peace and freedom loving forces of Panama and the continent so that through all possible means we can express to our colleagues of Mexican private enterprise our firm support in this difficult moment of their history. Likewise, we express to the Mexican Government our most vigorous request that it reconsider its decisions for the good of a better future for the Mexicans and the peoples of the American continent, particularly their neighbors of Central America and the Caribbean.

[Signed] Dulcidio Gonzalez N., president of the CONEP

Panama Banking Association

Panamanian Banana Association [Asociacion Bananera Panamena]

National Association of the Panamanian Fishing Industry [Asociacion Nacional de la Industria Pesquera Panamena]

Panamanian Association of Real Estate Agents [Asociacion Panamena de Corredores y Promotores de Bienes Raices]

Panamanian Association of Hotels [Asociacion Panamena de Hoteles]

Panamanian Association of the Tuna Industry [Asociacion Panamena de la Industria del Atun]

Association of Representatives and Distributors of Pharmaceutical Products [Asociacion de Representantes Distribuidores de Productors Farmaceuticos]

Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Agriculture of Panama

Panamanian Chamber of Insurance Brokers [Camara Panamena de Corretaje de Seguros]

Panamanian Industrialists Union

National Union of Small Industries [Union Nacional de Pequenas Industrias]

Association of Merchants and Distributors of Food and Similar Products of Panama [Asociacion de Comerciantes y Distribuidores en Viveres y Similares de Panama]

National Association of Furniture Stores and Credit Institutions [Asociacion Nacional de Mueblerias e Instituciones de Credito]

Panamanian Association of Insurance Underwriters [Asociacion Panamena de Aseguradores]

Panamanian Association of Liquid Gas Distributors [Asociacion Panamena de Distribuidores de Gas Licuado de Petroleo]

Panamanian Association of Business Executives

Association of Property Owners of Panama [Asociacion de Propietarios de Inmuebles de Panama]

Association of Colon Free Zone Users

Panama Chamber of Construction

Industrial Development, Inc. [Desarrollo Industrial, S.A.]

Copies to the Mexican ambassador to Panama and the news media.

CSO: 3010/2347

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE CONSIDERS BILLS ON BROADCASTING

PA162313 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2300 GMT 14 Sep 82

[Excerpts] The Communications and Transportation Committee of the National Legislation Council today began consultations on two bills that would affect the country's television stations. Bill No 16 would require that private television stations allocate 1 hour per week to broadcast reports from agencies of the People's Government: the Legislative Council, the National Assembly of Corregimiento Representatives, the municipalities, community boards and coordination councils. Bill No 90 would transfer Radio Nacional or Radio Libertad to the National Legislation Council. [passage omitted]

It was later reported that consultations on these bills will continue during the coming weeks to allow all affected or interested sectors to express their viewpoints to the Legislation Council. [passage omitted]

Deputy Government and Justice Minister Jorge Lee commented on Bill No 90 during the following interview:

[Begin recording] [Question] Mr Deputy Minister, what is the executive branch's opinion of this bill?

[Answer] In relation to the bill that would place the state radio system under the control of the Legislation Council, we believe this bill is not feasible because a radio station should be managed like a business. It is a technical system to which resources and dedication must be devoted full time. We believe that the legislative branch should not devote its efforts to the management of a radio station. By constitutional mandate, the legislative branch has a more important function, that of making laws. The Legislation Council should devote itself to this function full time. Therefore, we don't think it is appropriate for a legislative organ, here or in any other country, to manage a radio system. [end recording]

CSO: 3010/2347

PANAMENISTA LEADER COMMENTS ON DIAZ HERRERA SPEECH

PA230058 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2300 GMT 21 Sep 82

[By Luz Maria Noli]

[Excerpts] At a ceremony held today at the Electoral Tribunal's Conference Room, the Authentic Panamenista Party received the resolution declaring open the registration of the party headed by Dr Arnulfo Arias Madrid. [passage omitted]

The party's secretary general, Hildebrando Nicosia, approached by Televisora Nacional, answered several questions. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Question] The political parties recently rejected the statements of Col Roberto Diaz Herrera at the convention of the PRD [Democratic Revolutionary Party] in Rio Hato. What is your reaction as secretary general of the Authentic Panamenista Party?

[Answer] It is not only my reaction or that of the Authentic Panamenista Party, but the reaction of all democratic opposition parties. I am going to refer only to one paragraph approved by all the democratic opposition parties during their visit to the Presidential Palace. The brief paragraph referred to the fact that the democratic opposition parties had attended the meeting at the Presidential Palace only to stress that the armed institution must return to its function of safeguarding the lives and honor of the citizenry and the integrity of the national territory. Above all, the national guard must maintain the professionalism of its general command, its officers and its enlisted ranks and remain separated from all political activity, as this is the only way the public force can serve the nation's best interests. This should answer your question. Remember, I am speaking not only in the name of the Authentic Panamenista Party, but based on an official statement approved by all the democratic opposition parties that met with the chief of state at the Presidential Palace. [passage omitted]

CSO: 3010/2347

PRD LEADERSHIP HOLDS MEETING AT RIO HATO BASE

PA190713 Panama City CRITICA in Spanish 18 Sep 82 p 16

[Text] Showing a high level of moral and political responsibility, the national directorate of the PRD [Democratic Revolutionary Party] met yesterday at the Rio Hato military base in an event that was described by top party leaders as a meeting "of much political importance for the country's future and in which the unity of the pillars that make up the revolutionary process was once again stressed."

Members of the Political Commission, National Secretariat and Tribunal of Honor and Discipline; provincial leaders of the PRD; representatives of the national guard general staff; and members of the executive branch and people's government attended the event and participated in the analysis of national problems.

PRD President Berta Torrijos de Arosemena opened the national PRD meeting. She indicated that for the PRD the holding of the meeting at that military base along with the other pillars of the process was an ideal venue so that the unity forced there would be on homage to the militaryman who at the head of his national guard and along with his people recovered for his fatherland this territory that had been occupied by foreigners.

Another important aspect that the PRD president mentioned referred to the mechanism of coordination at the highest level of the revolutionary process in which each of the pillars will participate.

"The political, economic and social achievements obtained by our process in favor of the Panamanian people cannot be snatched away by those who always denied the people the right to have better living conditions. We reiterate with conviction that the main task of the party is to make the revolutionary process irreversible," Torrijos de Arosemena energetically said.

She also addressed a message to Ricardo de la Espriella, stating that various actions need to be coordinated so that his government programs will receive the party's support, and she said that the PRD's rank and file are going to question those leadership-level ministerial officials who stray from the Torrijist ideology.

PRD Secretary General Ernesto Perez Balladares discussed in an introductory manner such topics as the current political situation, the country's economic situation, the international political situation and constitutional changes. This introduction served as a framework for the discussion by the national directorate.

Among other things, Perez Balladares indicated that the party cannot permit itself to be divided by the campaign for the disunity of the forces of the party, for the divorce of the party and the executive and for the divorce of the party and the national guard, because if they fall into that, they would be burying not only the party but the entire revolutionary process.

"The domestic situation has repercussions abroad," the secretary general said, adding that "Panama is not an island, and our country is geographically located in an area in conflict, in an area that is paying its share of blood because of errors, because they did not do what Omar Torrijos did here in 1968, which has given us 14 years of peace, tranquillity and development."

Perez Balladares finished his speech by telling the national directorate that from that meeting they should emerge to awaken the party, to struggle and defend the things that are considered correct, bearing in mind that each of the pillars of the process must play the historic role that the current situation demands.

A debate with respect, honesty and understanding was held in the meeting of the national directorate, in which prominent figures of the process participated. Among others these included Odilio Gonzalez, Juan Materno Vasquez, Luis de Leon Arias, Mario Rognoni, Marcela de Rodriguez, Zia Elena Lee, Romulo Betancourt Arosemena, Elias Castillo.

CSO: 3010/2347

PAPO REJECTS 'INTERVENTION' BY GENERAL NUTTING

PA172318 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 15 Sep 82 p 6A

[Statement issued by the People's Action Party's National Executive Committee; no date given]

[Text] In the face of the contents of a letter sent by the chief of the U.S. southern command forces stationed in our country's territory under U.S. occupation, the People's Action Party [PAPO] explains its position to the people:

1. In its eagerness to pass itself off as a democracy, the so-called "revolutionary process" has spared no amount of effort or taxpayers' money to appear internationally as what it is not: a progressive, popular and democratic government.
2. Simultaneously, it has held many costly meetings with the participation of political figures who are foreign to us, like Felipe Gonzalez, Carlos Andres Peres, Francisco Pena Gomez and others, who have also interfered, publicly, irresponsibly and presumptuously in our domestic affairs in an attempt to tell Panamanians how we must handle our political problems.
3. On this occasion, General Nutting praises the "wise" military advice given to Panama's civilian leaders, as a "vanguard of the social change, the reforms and the promotion of free elections." This direct intervention in our country's domestic affairs is seen by PAPO as unacceptable and intolerable.
4. To praise from a position as the representative of foreign forces what was done by a Panamanian military officer against the weak civilian institutions show, a scorn for the struggles of the Panamanian people and an impertinence typical of those who act with the mind of proconsul.
5. To call the commanders in chief of the national guard of the past 14 years vanguards of social reform and promoters of free elections reveals not only a total ignorance but an eager desire to mock the situation of autocracy and militarism we've had to live with.

In rejecting General Nutting's intruding remarks, the PAPO issues a call to all its militants, members and sympathizers, as well as to all the country's political and civic organizations, to reject the continual interventions in the internal political affairs of our homeland by organizations, figures and institutions that are foreign to our people.

FEP STATEMENT ON U.S. REQUEST FOR BASES

PA142249 Panama City Radio Tic Tac in Spanish 1839 GMT 14 Sep 82

["A Different Viewpoint" program with Secundino Torres Gudino, (Marcial Avila) and Alex Jaen as moderators and special guest Jose Didimo Escobar, secretary general of the Federation of Panamanian Students--live]

[Excerpts] [Torres Gudino] We have here today Jose Didimo Escobar, secretary general of the Federation of Panamanian Students [FEP], who wants to discuss his concern regarding the U.S. request for new bases in our territory.
[passage omitted]

[Escobar] I want to thank Torres Guidino, Jaen and all the other companeros of this program, which is regaining all its listeners. I said this when I appeared on this program before. I have been able to confirm this through the people who listen to this program. It seems that there is something mystical about this matter, like those who spoke before and followed the people of the three very special and mystical colors. [sentence as heard] These are the people who have apparently come up with a symbol--I just saw it--which is a hand with the thumb and index finger forming a "V" for victory, but with the top of the finger cut off. However, there is something mystical about this, which is the important thing in this matter.

But we came here this afternoon to point out three basic things. In the first place, we want to press a charge, a very serious charge for the country: the United States is involving Panama, without consulting with the Panamanian public, without a legal basis; in other words, in open disrespect for the country's dignity, laws and interests, it is using our national territory to try out all kinds of intervention, particularly against Central America. This is especially dangerous because tomorrow, 15 September, the United States will bring Panama 2,000 marines--army members--who are going to carry out a two-part operation. The first part of the operation will be a defensive drill in which the canal is to be attacked--U.S. soldiers from Puerto Rico, Guantanamo, Fort Bragg, the air force base in Florida and other U.S. bases and military forts inside and outside the United States will carry out a mock defense of the canal in the face of a feigned attack.

After this action, another part of the operation will take place, one that Panama didn't know anything about, or at least the public didn't know anything about, and this is why we are here today to report this. Panama knows

nothing about what is being carried out, which is a total disrespect to our country. The United States will carry out an airborne operation from Panama to Central America.

As far as we know, the planes and this airborne company that will go to Central America are not going to drop candy in parachutes to the children and people of El Salvador and, particularly, Guatemala. We understand, and our experience confirms this, that they are not going to drop candy, cookies, bread, clothes or medicines to the long-suffering peoples of Central America. We are certain that this is part of U.S. strategy that is contrary to what the treaty says, contrary to our country's traditions, contrary to what Gen Omar Torrijos established and even contrary to what General Paredes has said. Paredes said in Veraguas that the roots of the social evils existing in Central America and Latin America lie in the social inequalities that throughout the evolution of these republics have been imposed by the oligarchies of these countries to the detriment of the poor peoples who have had to unite and struggle because they have found no democratic way to redeem themselves as peoples and fully develop.

This social discontent is not the result of any foreign doctrine or ideology. The one responsible for these inequalities and for the explosion of these contradictions is the United States, which has supported, guaranteed and nurtured these regimes that have been incapable of solving the main social problems of these peoples.

Let them not try to deceive us now. Let them not try to make fools of our people by telling us it is a Soviet-Cuban invasion, a Castro-Soviet invasion, or whatever label they may want to apply to it. Now that the Central American people are trying to solve their problems on their own, all of a sudden they have become communist or some other type of agents. The only thing these people want is respect for their right to determine their own destiny.

The grave part is that here in Panama we stand with folded arms while the Americans violate not only the treaty but all juridical legality and the norms and practices that should be contained in the spirit of the treaty. The treaty is very clear in this respect: they are here solely and exclusively to solve defense problems. Even this they are not supposed to do by themselves, but jointly with the Panamanian national guard. This operation, therefore, is illegitimate and illegal and goes against Panamanian interests, because any action that the United States carries out from our territory has some reaction, and our security is seriously implicated in this reaction. I think this should be pointed out.

Now I would like us to take a break in which you ask me questions, because this first aspect is very serious, but it wouldn't be so serious if I wasn't going to discuss a second aspect, which is complemented by a third aspect. The second aspect is that of Gen Wallace Nutting.

[Unidentified moderator] Nothing. [Apparent play on General Nutting's name]

[Escobar] Nutting, which means nothing in English. This gentleman, who is used to meddling and has made it a tradition to meddle in our country's domestic affairs, has begun to evaluate and appraise the circumstances and political situation that our country is experiencing and has gone to the extreme of making suggestions to our country and the national guard. Who does he think he is? The treaties that regulate our contractual relations and our relations with the United States do not contain a single article, verse, paragraph or phrase which says that the military delegate or chief of the southern command--who has very specific duties that have been mentioned before--can establish parameters or make suggestions as to what our country should do. This is called, in black and white, an intervention. It is a flagrant intervention in our domestic affairs. We have not yet seen anyone in our country, government or national guard who has stopped this gentleman who feels he is a proconsul. He thinks that Panama is back in the times when it was a banana republic and wants to tell us from the embassy--no, this has changed; not from the embassy, but from the southern command--what we should or shouldn't do in our country. And at the same time, he is saying that Panama must serve the U.S. strategy to implement a policy aimed at controlling and bleeding Central American peoples. And most of all, he wants to involve Panama in the Central American problem, and then say that the U.S. is not responsible for what would happen in this country.

We want social peace, but not a social peace that means the poor will remain poor and the rich will get richer. The social peace we want is one that truly guarantees a redistribution of wealth in our country as a true guarantee of peace.

There is a third aspect that complements this matter, Mr Torres Gudino: We learned from the press that General Paredes will visit Washington in the next few weeks. We are very concerned about these last two aspects. What will be discussed in Washington? Will Panama's demands regarding the U.S. nonfulfillment of the letter and spirit of the treaty and particularly the provisions of the treaty be discussed at this meeting? If we are going to denounce the treaty violations, then we agree with this meeting. We agree with it if this is the reason for the trip and if we are going to denounce the treaty violations, the lack of respect and the existing flagrant intervention.

I want to conclude this first part, if there are no questions, by saying that the FEP calls on the Panamanian people, their popular organizations and all the country's sectors to raise their voices. Let's safeguard our peace today. We want respect. We want respect for what was agreed on, because with their present actions we have no guarantee that in the year 2000 they are not going to come out and say that they will not fulfill the treaty. This involves many aspects that you know about: for example, the ecological component [as heard] in which Panama will stop receiving \$4 billion just because the United States decided to refuse to grant the guarantees and gains won by the canal workers. This is only regarding the labor aspect.

There is something that just happened; it is the nationalization of Mexican banks. Do you know why banks were nationalized in Mexico? Simply because the United States, the financial system controlled by the IMF and the

international loan agencies, which are U.S. agencies, had taken out of Mexico no less than \$20 billion. This created a critical situation for the Mexican economy; and the government, supported by all the parties and the Mexican people, made a decision, which was endorsed. We are suggesting this in our country, because we can't let international financial centers and the United States, using the pretext of security, continue blackmailing us, cornering us and leading us to a difficult situation in the economic, social and political spheres. We can no longer permit this. Therefore, we are issuing a call to all the Panamanian people to take a stand. Beginning tomorrow, when these antipopular and antinational maneuvers begin that threaten the security of our country, Latin America in general and Central America in particular, our people must raise their voices. Let's put a stop to this blackmail and aggression. [passage omitted]

[Torres Gudino] Well, the FEP secretary general has noted three very important points. [passage omitted] In order to hear the voices of the two generations--the youth represented here by Escobar--I'd like to ask him to explain the circumstances of the use of our territory for maneuvers that would extend to neighboring countries. How does the U.S. intention to establish military bases in Panama violate the torrijos-Carter treaty?

[Escobar] This interventionist military action is a violation because they are using Howard, Fort Davis, Galeta Island, Fort Clayton, Farfan--all the military installations. They are using these installations to train soldiers from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. Not long ago you learned about a military operation that was carried out jointly with the Honduran army. I believe that this was published by the press as a secret. [words indistinct] Planes are not only constantly taking off from here to give logistic and intelligence support to the armies to destroy towns in El Salvador and Guatemala but are leaving from here to bomb the hills, towns and huts where the Salvadoran and Guatemalan people and indians live. The war against Nicaragua using the Honduran army is being directed from here. In sum, this is a reality.

What does this mean? We advocate a peaceful solution in Central America. However, we know that the United States has been the one to block this solution. [word indistinct] who placed Somoza in Nicaragua and kept him in power to carry out injustices in that nation? It was the United States. Who has carried out more military coups in El Salvador, making that country have more coups than years as a republic? Who has made El Salvador have a new junta every year? The United States. Who defeated Arbenz and all the democratic governments in Guatemala? The United States. Who is responsible for Costa Rica's bad economic situation? The United States. So how can they say that the Soviet Union is guilty of all this? In sum, the United States wants to deal with Central America by harming peace and the situation that we have; and above all, violate the treaty, thus wiping their you-know-what with the treaty.

[Unidentified moderator] Good God!

[Escobar] Then we have a problem: they are using our territory, and this is not completed in the law. There is not even a separate agreement for this. Therefore, we want to note that the United States is violating our territory. But there is an even more serious point: by violating our territory, they are jeopardizing our security, because if the United States is throwing rocks at the Salvadoran, Nicaraguan, Guatemalan, Honduran and Costa Rican peoples, those peoples are going to react. It is as if you had a house and there was a house across the street. Let's say a guy is inside the first house, but he doesn't own it. However, he is using the house as a fort to throw stones at your house. What would you do?

[Torres Gudino] I would have...[interrupted by Escobar].

[Escobar] I would throw stones back at the other house. I wouldn't only be seeking the individual who is throwing stones; I would just throw stones. And what would I damage? I would damage the house. This is what is jeopardizing the security of our country. They are jeopardizing our peace and harmony. They are imposing a controversy on us while they are responsible for the way things are.

You asked me another question. Regarding the military bases they intend to install, this is true. This has already been published in the newspaper YA. I have a copy of this paper. On 9 September 1982, YA carried a banner headline that said: Under the cover of the Torrijos-Carter treaties, the United States is demanding more bases from Panama. What they seek is to be close to Nicaragua. That is why the point has been raised. They want to have bases in Bocas del Toro, to remove the banana plantations and establish bases there, and also in Chiriqui, where they would also remove all the banana and rice plantations and turn the grazing land into military bases in order to be close and attack other peoples.

Listen, to what point do they want to drive us? Not only the social aspect is involved, that is, the fact that they are undermining our society and its foundations; in addition, they are so [word indistinct] and deluded...[brief interruption by unidentified speaker indistinct]. This is the height of disrespect. What do they think! That this country may be managed as if we were Mama Yunai [United Fruit Company], or a banana republic?

Then they want to install military bases, to use our territory to attack brother peoples. And above all they are blackmailing us. If we don't do this they can do something else to us. I prefer living in a worthy country, even if we have some problems. I would rather see those problems not solved, or see them partially solved, but keep our dignity and honor as a country, as a homeland. I prefer that this be a safe country. I do not want us to become a disruptive element or to become the spearhead or implementors of a really antihuman policy in Central America.

I want to conclude here my answer to the first question. Does anybody else have any questions?

[Torres Gudino] No, because the program is about to end. In any event, the charge raised by the FEP secretary general is extremely important and calls not only for reflection by the Panamanian people but for alertness in the face of this attitude of invasion and of ignoring Panama's rights over its territory as well as its powers and rights over the interoceanic canal.

First, our country cannot be used in any way as a military base to attack other peoples, particularly because of the principle of self-determination of peoples and also because of the position that the Panama Canal is a canal for peace, a neutral canal that must not be used in any way to promote hostile actions against friendly countries in the Central American region. For one thing, the attempt at using military bases is incompatible with the treaty. Simply said, the existing bases are duly established and fulfill a function on the basis of modern military technology.

And lastly, General Paredes' visit to the United States must be a visit to protest the violation of the clauses of the treaty and in no way whatsoever some sort of endorsement of the warmongering policy and the North American policy of ignoring our rights over the (?waterway).

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